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NEW DELHI-1

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The Education Year

THE EDITOR

DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES the world has gradually come to recognize the need of planned economic development of nations newly freed from the restraints of colonial rule. Economic prosperity has been the pursuit, as the means to power, of nations listed as developed. Such prosperity has not, however, always been equally or equitably distributed among the different classes of members of a national community. Tensions have been arising from the inequality of distribution of national wealth. In some countries the have-nots have worked out a liquidation of such tensions by securing a total wipe-out of the 'haves' class and have elaborated an ideological justification for wiping out all dissent. By and large, the new nations, commonly designated as 'developing'—an euphemistic description of nations materially poor and striving to become relatively affluent—have not taken either the path that allows accumulation of wealth and decay of men or the path that seeks a quick solution by giving short shrift to vested economic interests. Their approach to development is marked by a humanitarianism that seeks social justice for all classes and groups. Such an approach calls for the quickest possible regeneration of the masses—who are either have-nots or have little to own—through a thorough process of education in order that they may step into the power of government and may rule themselves, keeping before them the objective of ensuring equitable distribution of wealth and equal provision of opportunities to all. Clearly the enjoyment of human rights as well as that of the amenities of existence made possible by modern scientific and technological advancement is dependent as much on the availability of improved means as on a knowledge of priorities and the ways of sharing an improved standard of living with others.

Education must, therefore, be devoted to the making of man in its broadest connotation. The need of scientific and technical education is patent enough ; trained personnel for manning the developmental objectives and activities naturally has the first priority. No less important is education in the art of citizenship as the means to the easing of inherited group tensions within nations and the inculcation of a broad and all-comprehensive humanism among all. It is only out of such reorientation of education that international harmony and peaceful co-existence may arise. In these latter respects, developing as well as developed nations equally need to be informed by a fresh outlook. Drawing attention to the urgency of these

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aspects of education is the true import of the International Educational Year designated by the United Nations for the current year to mark the beginning of the Second Development Decade.

The object of I.E.Y. is to direct the attention of the countries of the world to a review of their present educational situations, to ascertain the strength and weakness of their educational system, to plan comprehensive long-term and short-term programmes of educational development and to promote a vigorous implementation of such programmes. There is, in the developed and developing democratic countries, an increasing tempo of unrest among students belonging to the age of discernment owing to various apparent causes. The common factor in this worldwide phenomenon is the youths' major disappointment with the socio-economic order of things and cultural values. Youth, it may be said, strongly feels what it considers to be a lack of a humanistic direction of the basic policies of the State. It is not, however, clear about the connotation of the new world it seeks to replace the old order with. There is revolt but no firm foundation of a faith yet which makes revolutions. A crisis of faith has arrived. Unless the policymakers of States develop and present a humanistic ideal—not an ideology that soon becomes a fetish—and practise it in regulating human relationships among their citizens the youth may be driven by a frenzy of unbalanced emotion to an espousal of extreme ideologies. The gap between State policies and educational ideals must quickly be filled up, and even at the risk of sounding uncomplimentary it has to be said that the burden of reorientation falls squarely on the shoulders of the State which should show the way by practising the values it teaches at school and college.

Universal literacy is without a doubt the foundation stone of all education programmes. This has been achieved in almost all developed countries. In many of these, however, the quality of education varies in direct ratio to individual means and no national programmes for making the best type of education available to the children of the poorest class seem to have been devised. That this denial of basic humanism contributes to the growth of class and group tensions cannot be denied. The situation in the developing countries is somewhat different. They are faced with the task of wiping out an encumbered legacy of mass illiteracy as well as providing education oriented to the securing of a livelihood and to the inculcation of humanistic values. While it has been found not difficult to get children to school it has proved very difficult to get weather-beaten adults to take an interest in learning the alphabet. It is feared this anomalous situation in many countries is likely to last until the old generation has bowed itself out and a new generation has taken over. Education for this section of the community has to rely mainly on audiovisual programmes, and the purpose can meet with success in proportion to the directional control of radio, television, films and field propaganda by means of the spoken word and pictures. State efforts here have to con-

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tend with commercial, political and religious competitors. In a society where deliberately or through weakness democracy is permissive this confrontation presents certain difficulties in the way of dissemination of a humanistic modernism.

The practical point before the framers of educational policies is to be clear about whom these policies and programmes are intended for. For all countries, and for developing countries in particular, there can be no better criterion than the one laid down by Mahatma Gandhi in a broader context :

> "Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to *him*. Will he gain anything by it ? Will it restore him ... control over his own life and destiny ? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for hungry and spiritually starving millions ?"

One further point needing mention is that once through education the aspirations of this section of the people for a better material and moral life have been aroused it is the duty of statesmanship to meet them in a spirit of dedication.

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Panchayat : An Indian Genius

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WHETHER OR NOT THERE EXISTED a communal ownership in ancient India has been discussed among sociologists. Of primary importance whether is the Indian village community was a functioning organism harmonious with the Indian ideal, *dharma* (Truth).

In the light of *dharma*, the Indian village community has been developed through the ages. All social discrepancies, which are inherent in the village community, and all historical changes which went on within a framework of the traditional social structure, have continued in the direction of realization of *dharma*. Sociologically, Indian society consists of a group of small communities linked by mutual dependence. Dr. Cox says that Hindu society is a large aggregation of practically autonomous small communities held together by mutual dependence.[1]

Hence the community in ancient India is different from the concept of the police state. It is rather a welfare organization.

Regarding the modern development of community, S.K. Dey says that the essence of community development is an extension of the concept of joint family until it encompasses the nation as a whole. Joint family means the co-existence of genius and moron, artist and buffoon, with all the ramifications in between.[2]

A few British scholars of the nineteenth century held the view that Indian village communities were small republics managing their affairs through their *pañchāyats*. Village, *pañchāyats* of ancient India are commonly thought to have continued to exist throughout the medieval period. Dr. L. Gopal analysed some of the concepts used in ancient literature in a protest against this view. In his view, *Grāmaṇī* was appointed by the state, not by a village headman elected by the villagers.

The Smṛti literature gives proof that corporate bodies existed in villages. But these bodies were established mainly against common dangers or for acts of *dharma*. Thus these bodies did not exist permanently.

The *Mahattara* or the village elders looked after various tasks of the village assembly. The existence of a village assembly of a permanent nature is not mentioned in any inscriptions and literary works.

In the early medieval period, *pañcakula* appears to be similar to modern *pañchāyats*. However, Dr. L. Gopal says that it is different from

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modern *pañchāyats*. *Pañchakula* was in the medieval period appointed by the king and was associated with provincial governors or ministers.

Further he points out that Muslim rulers neglected the villages. Left to themselves, the villagers developed existing institutions for safeguarding their interest and thus gradually evolved the village *pañchāyats* of northern India.[3]

It was after the Independence of India that *pañchyats* got government support for promoting the interests of the villagers. Since colonial rule left the shore of India on August 15, 1947, the ideal has been to bring freedom to every living man and woman regardless of their religion or other affiliations. Since then an effort has been made to increase the scope of the *pañchāyats* and make them an effective instrument for greater economic prosperity.

India witnessed the birth of Community Development Movement on October 2, 1952. It was a Government program, forming a new pattern for administrative organization down to the village level. Article 40 of the Indian Constitution provides that "the State shall take steps to organize village *pañchāyats* and endow them with powers and such authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

A definition of the concept of *pañchāyat* will help to understand the scope and the activities of this movement. *Pañchāyat* has been described as "a process of change from the traditional way of living of rural communities" and also "as a movement for progress with a certain ideological content."[4]

Thus, *pañchāyati rāj* is a new system of local government. It aims at the creation of *Grām Sabhā* as a basis of democracy in India. *Grām Sabhā* was to elect its executive, the village *pañchāyat*, look after the administration of the village. With an idea of fellowship today's *pañchāyat* have established, under government sponsorship, marketing, banking, schooling, farming and industrial facilities. This idea of mutual kinship among villagers applies to a country wherein 82 percent of the people are villagers.

We cannot, however, overlook some of criticisms of the *pañchāyati rāj*. It is a communist criticism. I had once an opportunity to visit the Communist Party main office in New Delhi. They criticized the government pressure on the village *pañchāyati rāj*. But they themselves seem to have no concrete plan to substitute for government contributions. Moreover, it was surprising to learn from them that they thought the Harijan caste helpless. On that day it happened to be announced in a newpaper that some pedestrians, having no shelter, died on the street—it was bitterly cold outside. I inquired of the future Communist plan for the housing problem of the lowest class. To the Harijan caste seems to be of no importance and of no interest.

In India today the Communist Party is the second largest party, working against the Conservative Party. It minimizes the administration's power over the people in a revolt against the Conservative Party.

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More interesting is their nationalistic attitude toward the international conflict between India and Communist China. Regarding religion and Indian tradition the Communist does not interfere with any form of traditional ancient cultures, leaving the people free in their religious rites and faith. They admit and even encourage peoples to pursue their native cultures in conformity with modern society. The Communist Party in India is strictly confined only to a political struggle against the Conservative Party.

On the other hand, principles of community development are clearly applicable to a capitalistic economy. Apart from politics, the *pañchāyati rāj* movement has made many contributions to the development of large industry. By creating social welfare and more productivity for agriculture it expands the market for industrial products and enlarges the purchasing power of the villagers. *Pañchāyati rāj* is not simply designed to be self-sustaining local units. They require a nationwide network. The small village *pañchāyats* have been organized on a large scale. The organization is called *Block Pañchāyat Samiti*, which consists of representatives of the village *Pañchāyats*.

The functions of the village *pañchāyats* should include (1) scrutiny of weights and measures, (2) prevention of adulteration of foodstuffs, (3) prevention of cruelty to animals, (4) village sanitation, street lighting, (5) administration of tranks, roads etc. Besides, *pañchāyats* should become centres of culture. They should foster folk dances and folklore. They should take up all the functions formerly associated with the ancient village communities. They are centres not only of economic betterment, but also of the Indian spiritual tradition. The village community as a whole is acting as a joint family. All efforts towards economic growth and spiritual elaboration will be defeated if family kinship is not seriously considered. Unity between family ties and economic growth is crucial and the *pañchāyati rāj* institutions can make a significant contribution.

India's Community Development Plan can be successful only when it shows respect for its territorial base, where the plan is actuated.

A respect for the territorial base requires an understanding of the creative energy and mental competence of the village masses. The Indian people, high and low, are not in a western way but in a traditional one. The traditional spiritual power of unknown predecessors has played a tremendously important role on village development. This is true particularly in India which has many illiterate peasants. The outcome of this affects the village *pañchāyat*, mentioned above. There are not only traditional contributions on the part of village-*pañchāyat* but also determined efforts of the government officers who have devoted themselves to social works in remote villages. As one example we cite a young officer who served his motherland at the sacrifice of his schooling. Mr. K. wrote a brief history of his life in a booklet, saying :

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"In 1942 when the Quit India Movement started, I was in school. Bogged to my desk, I looked around at times to see processions passing. And one day under a strong emotional urge, I left the desk to ioin a procession. I never returned to school."[5]

He was among the Santals and Bagdis. Due to a strong feeling of caste, these people were not allowed to draw from the wells located in caste Hindu localities. The entire area in Mahammadbazar Block, particularly Santal and Bagdi villages, needed water. Religious bigetry in pre-war India was so strong that it disregarded the barest human necessities. Under the drinking water supply programme a ring-well could be dug with the government contributing two-thirds, the public one-third. Under the Community Development Block ring-wells are located almost at the centre of the villages to supply water for drinking and washing.

During those years when he worked in the village there was no statutory *pañchāyat*. He implored the people to form *pañchāyats* and the fact that his project executive officer, a lawyer, could arbitrate was very helpful. Very soon some *pañchāyats* were organized and later these took contracts of work under the Patel Memorial Fund Scheme, The profits from these contracts were contributed to the *pañchāyat* fund. No villager ran to any other Court of Justice after *pañchāyats* were formed. In the first election for a statutory *pañchāyat*, people voted for the same set people who collaborated with him. Since this early stage of development the *pañchāyat* movement has more or less become political.

Mr. K's work on the ring-wells went ahead at Raotara village and in one union about 28 or 30 wells were dug. With great pleasure he expressed his satisfaction ; "I still remember the stir in the village life these wells brought, the signs of happiness and contentment were unmistakable." While he was plodding ahead on the water situation, he also touched the social education program. There, too, casteism was so strong that the *santals* and *bagdis* were never allowed to join. Even if they were allowed to come they could not take seats. He could set up only at Uska village a social eduction centre in a separate structure. Regarding the village library, we have the following example. At Raotara village he set up a public contribution of Rs. 800. But the library scheme of this village, possibly due to the preponderence of other acute problems, did not appeal to the villagers.

He also worked forked for the establishment of schools. In one Thana (police circle) there was a high school. Many students found journey from distant villages difficult, but little could be done to remove the difficulty. I myself visited a secondary school in a suburb of New Delhi in 1964, and saw two women teachers teaching about 50 boys and girls in a class room or sometimes outdoors. Ussully these students come from the nearby village where they returned for lunch at noon. The library attached to the school keeps materials on languages and classical literature in Hindi and other national languages. Sometimes there were a few on economics and industry. Interest in English is much less than in the pre-

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war period, even less than a few years ago (1954-1957) when I was in the Poona and Nagpur areas. Therefore, for the sake of encouragement, Middle Schools were established with special interest in English. Mr. K. also worked in line with this tendency, converting four primary schools into Junior Basic schools, one of which was a Middle English school.

In 1965 Mr. K. was transferred as a Supervisor-cum-Agricultural Inspector to Nalhati Block. Nearly three years in Puranagram union were for him a period of hard work. The officers of the community development scheme are supposed to be well informed not only through desk work but also through daily work in the fields with the villagers. But they mainly play the role of go-between and delegate to the Government assembly Mr. K was sent from Block to Block looking after new Government projects. He was then transferred to Bijra Pilot Project in the Memari Development Block in the Burdwan district.

He found more difficulty at Bijra than in the Mohammadbazar Block. It is interesting to note that this difficulty was mainly due to the fact that the local inhabitants at Bijra had more political consciousness. A fairly large proportion of the people in this village are literate. They are not practical in their approach to their problems. To meet their demands he started mat-making among women and *satranchi* (cotton carpect)-making among men. Gradually he started cottage, mat and hand-made industries.

In 1959 he was again transferred to the Baruipur Pilot Project. Due to his devoted and successful work, great strides were made in the cottage industries in Bijra, and great enthusiasm was aroused among old women who for the first time were making a decent living.

It is with pleasant and enthusiastic feelings that Mr. K. thinks back over his seven years' experiences in the Community Development Programme. Reflecting, he says, "I have come in the most intimate touch with the villagers, who are a good, bad and indifferent lot. Most of them gradually became very friendly to me, a few kept away with some suspicion." The villagers of the low caste are co-operative and devoted to the Government scheme as he had expected. Still, they are very suspicious and distrustful official plans, because of the lack of alliances among them. They live and work with keen interest only in their own daily lives.

He further reflects upon his activities, saying : "Perhaps I have some failing which prevents me from winning over these few. I have received both bouquets and brickbats." Yet in his words there was no sign of disappointment but of hope : "Standing on a ridge, as I look across the verdant paddy fields into the green village yonder, I feel it has a charm of its own."

Thus the beginnings of the Community Development Program in India can be traced back to 1946 when experiments in rural development were carried out at Sevagram, at the Sarvodaya centre in Bombay, under the Development Scheme in Madras and in the pilot projects at Etawah

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and Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh. A sum of Rs. 900 million was provided for the purpose.[6]

I also had a chance to meet a group of Harijans and the lowest class at Sevagram and Wardha areas, where I lived a few days with them taking meals together and sleeping at their cottage. It was a wonderful experience to have a direct contact with them and to know the moral and mental competence of the villagers.

Among them was an old peasant who for several years had served Gandhi when he lived and taught at Sevagram during the prewar period. At that time this peasant was earning only Rs. 55 per month. But it was sufficient to support his family of four members. The fact that he did not have to pay for his living quarters was of great help. Besides, he could live on fruits and potatoes from his field. Now he is getting Rs. 150 per month. But it is not enough to cover his living expenses which now include the tuition and boarding fees for his boy who attends college.

All of these low caste people want to have some sort of economic tie with other *harijan* (untouchables) people in the neighborhood. This peasant once tried to collect money or personal property to form a kind of guild system which would meet the villagers' need for their medical treatment and their social welfare. He succeeded in collecting three thousand rupees. He and his collaborators had to go through all sorts of hostilities and criticisms from those who questioned the purpose and usage of the fund. Nevertheless, they believe that there is no way except unity among the low caste people through such means as this to protect themselves against Government pressure. Their aim is to form an organization of poor workers, not of *harijans*, whom they hate to be identified with. The living standard and the cleanness of these villages seem to have improved, and the people appear to be more disciplined both spiritually and intellectually than those in big cities such as Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi.

These poor people also criticize the Indian Communist Party, having condemned it as *bourgeois*. Accordiug to their point of view the Communist Party has never been a supporter of the *Harijan* caste or the untouchable (*asprishya*). They protest even against Gandhi's ideology, though these areas were disciplined and influenced by Gandhi's sociology. One of the main reasons, they think, is the prevailing supposition that Gandhiji recognized casteism, being thereby weak in his policy.

Apart from questioning whether they are right or wrong in their supposition, what is most impressive is their intellectual and critical mind they demonstrate in any form of discussions.

Communication is one major problem for the low caste people to solve. Newspapers, a source of their political knowledge, are not sold in shops. They reach villagers mainly through individual subscriptions. Periodicals and booklets contributed by the rich in big towns are usually distributed through *pañchāyat* only among "big men", or "big men's circle," as they call them. In reality, the number of those capable of read-

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ing is much smaller than one would expect. Moreover, newspapers are written in a quite different style from the ordinary conversational style of Hindi.

We sometimes find assembly halls or public halls run by *pañchāyat* or the Community Development Plan. But almost all of them serve as a kind of school or dispensary ; they are usually vacant in the evening. On the whole these assembly halls are used only by a few of the upper caste people.

There are very few public places to display news and notices about social and cultural activities except school bulletin boards. Central communication providing simultaneous access to the villagers is lacking in remote villages. This is mainly because of the low level of literacy, the vastness of the land also of the language barrier, which is one of the headaches of the Government today.

Where, then, have the masses acquired their high level of spirituality? In general it is a product of native genius grown up on the Indian soil, an inherent quality of the Indian people. The speculative, discursive and rhetoric character is found not only in classical literature, but even in the minds of traders and street peddlers. This quality distinguishes India from other nations, from Japan, for instance, where people are more emotional than speculative.

Another reason would be the fact that the flow of innovations in the village is dependent substantially on the preachers visiting village to village from time to time. They are not only those social reformers who spend much of their time enlightening people against British rulers, but they are religious preachers who provide traditional channels of the cultural background of India. Among the former group are Tilak, Gandhi and Vinobaji, among the latter being Sadhus (qualified religious specialists) uttering *mantra*, and even casual visitors.

In India, it seems to be almost a social custom that casual visitors are not provided with any gift and honorarium for their public lectures given for villagers or college students. Instead, they can get accomodation free in most cases except for hotels. But they are expected to talk about Indian culture, philosophical and religious. An interesting thing is that the longer a lecture is the better. People think a long lecture shows dignity and scholarship. They ask for a lecture or speech because of respect and hospitality for their guests. They think that speakers should be rewarded with public esteem and, in the case of the Brahmin *purohita*, with a secure livelihood. It is simply because a speaker or lecturer preaches *dharma* (truth) beyond any form of worldly concern. To them truth (*dharma*) is something to be highly respected and appreciated spiritually. Philosophical and religious speeches are required to excite them. All these lectures must be based on traditional texts, either read or spoken. If a lecturer is a native, then he is at times accompanied by a group of musicians, or he

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may provide his own accompaniment with his own instrument. A lecture continues sometimes until midnight or even through the night.

The villagers in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh are more conscious and critical of the upper-class and the policies issued ; this tendency can be found even among the low caste people, particulary among peasants around Wardha. Sometimes we were suprised to find accurate ciriticisms and philosophy of life when we discussed them with illiterate people.

There seem to be two modes prevalent in the mind of villagers, awareness as a nation and awareness as a person, They feel responsible for the promotion of their own caste, considering radical movements as the right way. This sentiment prevails among the old as well as the young generation, though it has not been put into action for fear of pressures, economic and psychological. Economically all of them, in spite of the land reform, live entirely on Government cooperatives and the support of the upper class. Psychologically, they fall into a dilemma between *himsā* (violence) and *ahimsā* (non-violence).

If they take radical action, they will come in conflict with India's traditional motto *ahimsā*. Radical actions require blood sacrifices to village godlings. On the other hand, India's tradition requires *ahimsā* as a part of human virtue to which they are devotionally faithful.

The old generation of these villagers tend to avoid this dilemma about action by leaving the responsibility for the promotion of living standards to the leaders of the village. The young generation has no concretized way to escape from this dilemma ; they jostle their minds, looking for some contact with casual visitors to make their conviction firm. The young generation in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta take radical actions in quite a different way from the village youth. In social movements and labour problems, one can see the same political actions and the same annoyances as in other modernized countries in the world.

These radical actions, however quick they may be, contradict the Indian tradition. The conciliatory way of *ahimsā* is the only way which contributes to the world an entirely new political structure. The Indian mind itself doubts if material prosperity is worth striving for at the sacrifice of human values and meanings, which are admittedly fading in prosperous societies in the modern world. From these descriptions of village situations the following perspective emerges :

Community Development can be started with a few devoted recruits grown up in the village. The movement then spreads out from a small village. After the standards of living in these villages have been improved, an inter-village relationship can be strengthened with the support of a leader or a Government officer rather than that of the villagers. Peasants are not incapable of appreciating their own effort for the inter-village plan. But the disparity between need and income, and strong traditional prejudice prevent them from achieving an organization of villages. The schemes and plans of the Government have been widely commented upon.

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Little attention has, however, been paid to such cultural and psychological phenomena as ignorance, prejudice und the critical mind of the villagers.

All these cultural and psychological phenomena can be overcome by a few chosen recruits who are sympathetic to the villagers, or by distributing pamphlets. After the independence of India, co-operative movements were set up to meet urgent needs of the villages. But with the educational level rising, and the inherent intellect sustained, the Government scheme will be able to avoid a tragedy only when it is set up in conformity with the mental competence of the villagers.

[*This is a part of the author's report, "Facts About Modern India" prepared for publication. The author thanks the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for its support in offering me an opportunity to realize my desire for personal contact with villagers in rural India (1963-1964).*]

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Architectural Monuments of the Mahayanists of Ceylon

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MAHĀYĀNISTS OR VATULYAVĀDINS (as they were called in Ceylon) are mentioned in the chronicles of Ceylon for the first time in the region of Vohārika Tissa (215-237 A.C.). Their activities in Ceylon were of a character marked by many vicissitudes. The propagation of their doctrines was banned and they themselves suffered many hardships at one time while on another occasion they were almost victorious over their rivals, the Theravādins (who were followers of the Śrāvakayāna). Once again their fortunes took a different course with the result that the orthodox variety of Buddhism was finally upheld to be the true teaching of the Buddha. Nevertheless, the Mahayanists too held sway and the doctrines and cults introduced by them lingered on among those dedicated to the creed until the time of the great Convocation convened by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) at which all undesirable elements in the Buddhist church were eliminated. In spite of the unification and purification of the Order carried out by that sovereign which was a decisive factor in the ecclesiastical history of this island, yet the cults introduced earlier continued to persist, undergoing local developments in accordance with the spritual needs and aspirations of the people.

In my monograph *Monuments of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon* (which was reviewed in *Indo-Asian Culture,* Vol. 16, No. 4, Oct. 1968) I excluded the subject of architecture mainly becuse I entertained the feeling that in a building, there could be hardly anything distinctly Mahāyānist. However, as Appendix C of that monograph, I listed the monuments giving the necessary references for the benefit of the interested reader. In this paper I wish to deal with these monuments as briefly as possible in order that those interested in the subject might form an idea of the edifices erected by the followers of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism which has long ceased to be a living force in Ceylon.

The field of Sinhalese architecture is fairly wide and the contribution of Mahāyānists in that direction is not insignificant, as may be generally supposed. Among the architectural remains at Anuradhapura and elsewhere, several stupas and monasteries as well as temples have come to light which could be definitely indentified as erections of Mahāyānists.

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As will be described in the sequel, they exhibit certain unique features which are unusual in the architectural sphere. References to such monuments are not altogether absent in the chronicles of our land and before an attempt is made to deal with surviving examples, it may not be irrelevant in the first instance to examine the evidence available with regard to them.

The *Cūlavaṃsa* does not specifically mention buildings of Mahāyānist character but from the narrative of events, it is possible to gather information regarding the erection of such monuments. The chronicle metions the installation of Bodhisattva figures by some kings who ruled the island from the 4th century onwards. Where these sculptures were of Maitreya, the fact is specifically mentioned but otherwise they are generally referred to as those of Bodhisattvas. There is no doubt that shrines were built to house many of these images. Jetthatissa II (332-341 A.C.) is credited with the erection of such a pavilion[1] which contained a chair (for the image) and an umbrella (above it). It is unfortudate that this monument has not yet been identified.

In the reign of Dhātusena (463-479 A.C.) a number of Bodhisattva figures[2] were installed within the *paṭimāghara* of the Bahumangala-cetiya. It is likely that they were represented as attendants on the Buddha. On the left side of the Bodhi-tree was constructed a Bodhisattva temple[3] (*Bodhisattaghara*). The pavilion built in the reign of Jeṭṭhatissa II was called a *maṇḍapa* but this particular building is referred to as *Bodhisattaghara*. An example of the latter type of image house has not so far been discovered among the architectural remains at Anuradhapura or elsewhere in Ceylon.

Installation of Bodhisattva figures in the succeeding reigns are referred to in the chronicle but pavilions to house them are not particularly mentioned. It is likely that the kings who favoured the cult of the Bodhisattva also constructed shrines to house their images. In the reign of Sena II (866-901 A.C.) it is recorded[4] that Bodhisattva figures were placed in the Maṅimekhala-pāsāda. It should be specially noted in this reign there is a further reference to a temple of the Bodhisattva being affiliated to a shrine of the Buddha. Hitherto Bodhisattva figures were installed in separte shrines built for that purpose or placed in a *paṭimāghara* (probably as attendants on the Buddha). What is meant by affiliation of a *Bodhisattaghara* with that of a *paṭimāghara* is that both shrines were made into one architectural composition. Parallel examples may be seen even at the present day, *i.e. devāles* (shrines accomodating Hindu deities such as Visnu) are within image houses of the Buddha under the same roof. One of the best preserved examples is at Gadaladeni (near Kandy). The *Tisara Sandeśa* (a Sinhalese poem of the 14th century) refers[5] to a shrine of Nātha (Avalokiteśvara) at Doravaka within the image house of the Buddha. Vegiri-devāle, a monument of the 14th century (to be described in the sequel), consists[6] of an image house of the Buddha side by side with that

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of Lokeśvara-Nātha, both shrines being separated by means of a common partition wall but under the same roof. The manner in which a *Bodhisattaghara* was affiliated with a *paṭimāghara* in the reign of Sena II has to be understood with reference to the examples quoted above. It appears that by the time of this monarch, Bodhisattva worship had become popular and got absorbed into the popular religion of the Sinhalese people. It also connotes the steady progress of Mahāyānist activities in Ceylon.

Having dealt with the references to Mahāyānist buildings as occurring in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (which is the historical chronicle of Ceylon), in the following pages it is proposed to deal with the architecture of such surviving edificies which have been identified as Mahāyānist in origin. These will be described in the order given as follows:—(1) The *geḍige* at Nalanda, (2) Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama monasteries, (3) Stupas of Mahayanist character, *i.e.* Indikaṭusāya and Kaṭusāya, Tiriyay, Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama, (4) Nātha-devale, Kandy and (5) Lokeśvara-Nātha-devāle, Vegiriya.

I

NALANDA-GEDIGE

The *geḍige*[7] at Nalanda in the Central Province is a monument constructed entirely of stone. Though its history is unknown and its original name forgotten, it stands to this day as a relic left by the devotees of Tantric Buddhism in Ceylon, about whom the chronicles of the island make incidental references.

The sculptures available at the site, though now mostly wasted, point to its Tantric character. The slab inside the cella (5ft. 6 ins. × 2 ft. 6 ins.) referred to by H.C.P. Bell and described by him as one showing a standing figure of a god with a *makuṭa* as head-dress, holding a lotus stalk over the left shoulder and two other attendants below, may possibly represent Avalokiteśvara. His right hand which points to a kneeling worshipper depicts the *varada* pose. Two panels (one on a pillar and the other on the basement) which H.C.P. Bell considered[8] unnecessary to describe in detail depict amorous couples performing the sexual act. They may be compared with similar sculptures obtaining at Khajuraho. The two standing Buddha images and the torso of a Bodhisattva attest to the Buddhist character of the shrine. On the *śikhara* is the figure[9] of Kuvera who is a deity associated with the Mahāyānists. Taking into account all the evidence furnished by these sculptures, there is justification for identifying the monument as one erected by Tantric Buddhists.

The *geḍige* stands on a terrace which is about four feet above the surrounding land. There are clear indications of a wall which surrounded the monument. The enclosure thus formed included the shrine and a stupa to the north of it. The last-named monument has been assumed to be one of comparatively late times.

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Ground Plan: On ground plan, the *gedige* recalls to one's mind the *paṭimāgharas* so common at Anuradhapura *i.e.*, *garbha-gṛha* with a *maṇḍapa* and a portico in front of it. The building is raised on a platform 33′6″ × 29′4″. Then there is a slight recession but it continues further for 18′9″. The frontage faces the east and measures 30′6″. When compared with the rear side of the basement, the frontage measures three feet less. From the middle of the front face projects a portico (12′6″ × 8′10″) to which a flight of steps rising from a moonstone gives access.

Basement: Moulded slabs of granite have been used for the basement[10] of the *maṇḍapa* which rises 3′8″ from the ground level. There are three courses of rectangular mouldings, *i.e.* cyma plinth, ovolo rounding and coping. Between plinth and coping is a short block which, except for a bowtell of elongated nail-headed pattern, is almost bare.

More elaborate moulding are noticeable on the basement of the cella. Compared with these mouldings, those on the basement of the *maṇḍap* are simple. The purpose of such embellishments may be understood by observing the mouldings on the superstructure which are equally matching. This basement consists of socle, ogee, torus and block surmounted by cyma coping. From the basement, the wall rises bare of ornament to a height of six feet. On the north and south sides are three bays in each clearly marked off on the wall by narrow vertical niches. A single pilaster occupies each flanking bay. These pilasters are continued into the basement to serve as false pedestals. The face of the coping displays a set of eight caitya-window dormers in relief. On the torus of the base is carved a frieze of circles in outline within loops. The wall face on the west and east (excepting the doorway) differs slightly from the former in having five plain bays of similar width.

Doorway: Access to the portico is by means of a flight of steps (three in number) having a plain moonstone at the base. The balustrades flanking the steps are of the *makara*-head type. Of guardstones at the entrance, there are no traces.

The *maṇḍapa* is entered upon through the portico by means of a pair of steps. The riser of the lower step is carved with figures of *gaṇas* placed between pilasters and *vajras*. On either side of the upper steps is an elephant head boss in high relief and its riser is ornamented with floral designs.

Maṇḍapa: The doorway and the portico described above conform to the canons of Sinhalese architecture. The *maṇḍapa* shows affinities with Dravidian schools. A wall, 3 ft. broad, rises from the base, leaving a narrow gangway and enclosing the *maṇḍapa* (except at the entrance from the portico and at the rear where the cella is given access). The space thus enclosed contained[11] pillars which must have supported the roof of the *maṇḍapa*. There were altogether 24 columns. Of these 16 were engaged in the wall faces. Eight block pillars (four to either side from the front) allowed for a nave (6 ft. wide) between the portico and the cella. As the

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ground plan shows, the aisles were 5′4″ wide. All the pillars are broken and not a single one in position. The plinth of the pillars consist of semi-rectangular, semi-ogee, torus, lesser cyma and fillet respectively from the base.

Cella: The external measurements of the cella are 18′ × 14′6″. As the ground plan shows, a gangway (about 7 ft. wide) is left on the platform. The section of the gangway on the front is but a part of the *maṇḍapa* and without leaving an entrosol, it hugs the cella. The walls, being 3′8″ thick, are considerably large. As a result, the area of the cella is lessened. Admission to the cella is through a narrow doorway which has been built into the thickness of the wall. The walls are windowless and bare. The ceilling was probably flat. The bracket consoles on the walls show that the ceilling was formed by placing horizontal beams.

A carved circular slab (resembling a moonstone) extends from the stone threshold and faces the *āsana*. At the centre of the back wall of the cella a *padmāsana* has been placed. It shows two sockets which were intended to receive the image. The Buddha image which is seen at the spot at present is doubtless not the original one. Two other *padmāsanas* and Buddha images (now badly weathered) are found scattered among the broken pieces of stone lying in the compound. Part of a *yantragala*, of an unusual design, had been unearthed. There is also a slab in the shape of a guardstone placed within the cella. It shows a deity wearing a head-dress and holding a lotus stalk across the left shoulder. His right hand in *varada mudrā*, is extended towards a kneeling worshiper. The latter is evidently receiving the ambrosia which flows from the fingers of the deity. A similar sculpture (identified as a representation of Avalokiteśvara) has been noticed at the Vijyārāma monastery.

Superstructure: The superstructure[12] of the shrine consisted of the ground floor, three storeys and a dome. The walls of the ground floor terminate with a flexured cornice. The latter displays horseshoe dormers corresponding to those of the basement coping. The dormers are mostly filled with human faces.

The beginning of the first storey is at a height of 10′-10″ from the level of the ground. It is shown by a course containing a plinth, plain block and cyma coping. The wall plane of the shrine recedes while continuing up trough the first and second storeys. At each end section of the wall, two ornamental pilasters mark the end of the wall face. As the walls of the west and east sides have collapsed, this feature is seen only on the north and south facades. The termination of the first storey is by means of a cornice which bears comparison with that of the ground floor. The height of this storey is only 4′3″.

The second storey is shorter and is only 2 feet in height. Its wall is 9 inches high and terminates in a dormered cornice, 1′3″ in height. As such there is no base for this storey. The dormer windows on the cornice

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show a bracket stand in relief. The wall face shows miniature doorways and niches.

The third storey is also 2 feet in height. It recalls to mind the tee of a stupa and resembles the second storey of Siva Devāle No. 2 at Polonnaruva. The wall surface is occupied by 4 plain pilaster strips and a *padmāsana* in the centre. Otherwise the wall face is bare of ornament.

Śikhara. Above the third storey rises the *śikhara* which could have been of barrel shape. Its nature cannot be determined with certainty as only the southern facade is preserved. The frontispice as it is preserved today consists of a vertical horseshoe pediment 7′5″ in height. It is crowned by the lower part of a broken *kīrttimukha*. A seated figure of Kuvera, carved almost in the round is shown in the centre of this pediment. On the cornice of the third storey rests his right foot and the left in front on a cushion. Over the head of the deity is a *chatra*. On either side of the god is a bracket pilaster above which has been carved the figure of a flying *vidyādhara*. On either side of the head of Kuvera is a moulded ornament above which is shown another *vidyādhar*. These sculptures which are enclosed by a foliated band are crowned by a human face on the top.

It is known that Kuvera is the presiding deity of the north but in this instance he has been placed so as to face the southern direction. It is therefore likely that this figure was wrongly installed on the south during the restoration work carried out by the Public Works Department in 1893-94 A.D. Of the other three frontispices which should have formed the *ṣikhara* on the other sides, only some fragments have been recovered.

Influence of Dravidian Schools : Architecturally the *geḍige* shows affinities with Dravidian schools. A Hindu origin may be traced with regard to decorative features. The base mouldings are of the usual Anuradhapura type. With regard to the superstructure and the *maṇḍapa* similarities with those of the late Pallava temples may be shown. The superstructure of the *geḍige* may be compared with similar ones obtaining in the stone temples of the Pallavas[13] at Kanchipuram and the Virūpākaṣa temple[14] of the Calukyans at Pattadakkal. Our edifice shows Orissan resemblances[15] (*i.e.* temples at Bhuvanesvar) with regard to sculptural ornamentation. It is therefore evident that all the prominent architectural styles of the 7-8th centuries A.D. had been at work in the construction of the shrine at Nalanda. It is the best available example in Ceylon of successful combination of Buddhist and Hindu styles.

II

The monasteries named Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama are also monuments of Mahāyānists. Representations of Mahāyānist deities have been sculptured on the walls of the so-called Hall (to be described in the sequel) at Vijayārāma and inscriptions containing invocations to Tantric

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deities have been discovered from the stupa of that monastery. The arrangement of the buidings at this site may be compared[16] with that of Puliyankulama monastery. From the study of inscriptions discovered at the last named site, the student is led to assume that the inmates of that monastery worshipped the *Dhamadhātu* which was an object of religious devotion among those dedicated to the Mahāyāna cult. Both sites have been assigned to the 9-10th centuries A.D., the period during which Mahāyānism appears to have gained more popularity.

VIJAYARAMA

The buildings at Vijayārāma monastery[16a] occupy a quadrangle 288′×268′. There were entrances at the cardinal points. The sacred precincts consisted of a stupa and three *vihāras* which were built on an elevated platform. To its north was a building which appears to have been a hall. Outside the sacred precincts was first a circumambulatory path and then 12 other buildings (4 on each side), grouped according to plan. All the principal buildings faced the court of the stupa. On the south and west were a few other buildings. These were surrounded by a moat and then by an outer wall (200 yds×300yds).

Of these buildings, the stupa and the Hall to the north of the court of the stupa may be regarded as monuments of an unusual character. The stupa will be dealt with in the sub-section dealing with Mahāyānist stupas, The Hall referred to above is a type of monument the like of which has not been brought to light elsewhere in Ceylon.

The Hall: The northern porch of the court of the stupa gives access to a broad passage by descending a couple of steps. This broad passage (28′×21′) leads one to the Hall.

The Hall (67′×63′6″ external) is an oblong building.[17] There are no signs of pillars—hence it is not possible to make any conjecture regarding the method of its roofing. Probably the roof was of wooden construction. The building was 3 ft. 6 ins. above ground level, one foot higher than the level of the connecting passage. The floor was not paved but formed of earth stamped down. The basement (3′4″ high) is of stone containing five courses (*i.e.* ogee plinth, torus, block and cornice, cyma reversa, beak moulding—all of granite).

Above the basement rises a wall formed of massive slabs. These contain carvings in bas-relief in two courses (the lower one being about the third of the height of that above). The coping is formed by a heavy cornice containing cyma mouldings separated by fillets. Externally, the coping projects about 8 inches beyond the wall plane. On the inside, the moulding is ovolo. Above the basement, the wall rises to a height of 3′6″. The total height would therefore be 6′10″. Four stone spouts, two on either side, east and west, project about 18 inches from the walls. These were for the purpose of draining out the water.

Figures of gods and goddesses (to be identified with those of the

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Mahāyānist pantheon) have been carved[18] in relief on the exterior side of wall slabs. They have been placed within *toraṇas* of considerable beauty. The distribution is as follows:—east and west, 4 panels on each sides; front and back, 2 panels each side; together amounting to twelve in all. Flanking these *toraṇas* and along the whole face of the slabs are vertical bands (about 6 or 7 inches wide) containing floral and vegetal designs.

The purpose of having a Hall of this type at the extreme north of the monastery and connected with the court of the stupa, is not apparent. It may be conjectured that it was either an *uposathāgāra* (confession hall) or *bhojana-śālā* (alms-hall). Potsherds have been exhumed just outside the gap in the back wall but relying on this evidence alone it is not possible to identify the building as a refectory. H.C.P. Bell suggested that it was a hall for the recitation of scriptures or a hall for quiet meditation and exercise. Relying on the finds of potsherds, he was more in favour of calling it a refectory. Since it was connected with the court of the stupa and since at Puliyankulama (which on plan is similar to the Vijayārāma arrangement) its position is occupied by a *paṭimāghara*, it is likely that it was intended for some kind of the religious observance. The carvings on the wall slabs confirm this hypothesis. However, in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to establish conclusively the purpose of this unusual type of building.

Half way between the front and back of the building and at a depth of 4′ within the raised floor of the Hall was found a brick-faced cella as at *Vihāras* No. 1 and 2 (on the platform of the stupa) but of smaller dimensions (1 ft. × 10½ ins.). It contained no stone lid and was found empty. It had probably been opened earlier by treasure seekers. The slabs which formed the wall were recovered from among the debris except the one for the centre of the back wall. The latter, it has been surmised, had never been in site and the space had been purposely left unfilled.

The Hall of the Vijayārāma monastery is unique in many respects and is worthy of a high-ranking place among the architectural remains at Anuradhapura.

PULIYANKULAMA (PUBBARAMA)

The ruins of Puliyankulama monastery[19] lie about 2⅓ miles from Anuradhapura on the Jaffna road and about a mile east of the Malvatu-oya. The arrangement of the monastery is on almost the same lines as the Vijayārāma (except for the large Hall which is absent at this spot) but on a larger scale.

The buildings of the monastery were erected on a rectangular block of land 360 yds × 330 yds and enclosed by an outermost wall. On a raised quadrangle is built the sacred premises of the monastery consisting of three *vihāras* and a stupa. Entrance to this quadrangle was by means of four porches situated at the cardinal points. The three shrines are of the same type as at Vijayārāma, *i.e. paṭimāghara* with entrances from the

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four cardinal points, *paṭimāghara* of the *gandhakuṭi* and *pāsāda* types respectively. To the east is situated the stupa, which is at present a ruined mound.

Ranged round the quadrangle are the annexes. As excavations proceeded, twelve buildings as at Vijayārāma and facing the court of the stupa were brought to light. Some twelve more buildings ranged behind the first group were afterwards discovered. The outer line of this group of buildings is marked by a wide moat which encircled all the abovementioned buildings except the *mura-ge* (guard house) at the south and the two buildings in close proximity to it.

A large oblong pond, connected with the mote and the exterior boundary wall, is seen on the north. Beyond the outer line of this group of the north is a group of detached buildings containing an image house of the usual *gandhakuṭi* type but having certain unusual features. To the south of this shrine are to be noticed two sets of the other buildings facing each other and having guard houses at the entrance. A preaching hall and a bath house were also situated within the premises. This group, though detached from the monastery to the south, occupies the same position as that of the Hall at the Vijayārāma monastery.

Affinities with Indian examples: Having given a general description of the buildings at Vijayārām and Puliyankulama, it may be of interest to refer to corresponding examples existing in the neighbouring sub-continent. The plan of these two monasteries may be compared with that at Takht-i-Bāhāi which shows[20] some similarity in the arrangement of the sacred precincts with other buildings facing it. Takht-i-Bāhāi is in the region to the north-west of India where Mahāyānist monuments abound. Generally refered to as Gāndhāra, this region is remarkable for monuments of which the monastery is the most common and typical.

In the monasteries which usually consisted of a stupa and *saṅghārāma*, the stupa was the central feature. The aim of the architects of the Gāndhāra region was to develop the stupa into an architectural composition of more inspiring proportions. To further this aim, they elevated the stupa on a tall platform and enlongated the body of the stupa upwards. A flight of steps gave access to the upper platform of the stupa which became the circumambulatory path. The stupa itself was composed of a series of diminishing drums and surmounted by a multi-tiered umbrella. In the building of Iṅdikaṭusāya, Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama stupas, it is likely that the artchitects were influenced by these north-west Indian conceptions.

In the two instances at Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama, it will be noted that in general plan and arrangement of the monastery, Gāndhāra influences had been at work. The monastery at Takht-i-Bāhāi was designed on an axial plan with all its parts logically arranged. The principal buildings were within a rectangle of approximately 200 feet in length and consisted of (i) a stupa court, (ii) monastery, (iii) terrace for the reception of votive stupas and small chapels. To the west of the monastery was

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a conference or assembly holl. The remainder of the site consisted of subsidiary buildings.

A Takht-i-Bāhāi, the court of the stupa was enclosed on three sides by a range of small chapels, each containing within it either a statue of the Buddha or a votive stupa. All the principal buildings of the monastery faced the stupa. By means of a passage and a flight of steps, the court of the stupa was connected with the monastery.

The arrangement of the monastery at Takht-i-Bāhāi, it will be obvious, is in many respects similar to Vijayārāma. The distinctive feature of both is the court of the stupa. J. Fergusson makes[21] special reference to the "hall" at Takht-i-Bāhāi and Jamalgarhi. At Takht-i-Bāhāi, this type of building occupied the north-west corner. It was surrounded by a wall, had one door leading to it and was 51 feet square. In the opinion[22] of M. Foucher, the corresponding example at Jamalgarhi was the service hall (*uposathāgāra*) which was also used as a refectory. Fergusson conjectures that these buildings were roofed in wood.

From the foregoing it will be noted that in Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama monasteries, architectural resemblance to north-west Indian influences can be traced. The Ceylon examples appear to have been based on Indian plans with certain modifications. The architects who designed non-Mahāyānist monasteries such as Toluvila and Pācina-Tissa-Pabbata were also probably inspired by these Indian examples.

We have already noted that Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama monasteries show similarties as well as differences with regard to the ground plan. The noteworthy dissimilarities with Vijayārāma planning are (a) the substitution of an image house for the Hall and (b) the construction of a stupa within Vihāra No. 1 of the court[23] of the stupa. The feature (a) has already been referred to. A few words with regard to (b) may be necessary.

It has been shown that the buildings facing the court of the stupa in north-west Indian examples (referred to above) contained either an image of the Buddha or a votive stupa. At both Vijayārāma and Puliyankulama, the shrines were within the elevated platform on which was built the stupa. While at Vijayārāma the three shrines contained Buddha images, one of the three shrines on the court of the stupa of Puliyankulama monastery contained a stupa within itself. The shrine had four entrances at the cardinal points. The floor was paved with stone and the votive stupa (about 9 feet in diameter at the base) was centrally located. Four sedent Buddha images with their backs to the stupa faced the cardinal points. There were altars placed before them. No remains have been discovered of the stupa or the images. The reason for including a votive stupa on the elevated platform which contained the larger stupa was probably due to Indian influences. There was constant intercourse with North India about this period and pilgrims returning from the sacred Buddhist sites in India probably brought with them the architectural traditions then current

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in that sub-continent. This type of *vihāra* with a votive stupa centrally placed may be compared[24] in certain respects with the rock cut caitya-halls at Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad. A similar shrine of the Buddha (14th century A. D.) with a votive stupa within it, exists at Lokeśvara—Nātha Devāle at Vegiriya.

III

STUPAS OF MAHAYANIST CHATACTER

Iṅdikatusāya and Katusāya

Of the stupas of the Mahāyānists, the best preserved example[25] is the Iñdikaṭusāya at Mihintale. Inscriptions containing extracts from Mahāyanist texts were discovered within the stupa and, relying on this evidence, the monument has been classified as one of Mahāyānist character. At a considerable distance from this monument is another stupa of similar size, popularly but erroneously called Kaṭusāya which has been built on the same plan as its counterpart. The Sela-cetiya at Anuradhapura and Vijayārāma-stupa offer comparison with these two monumeuts.

The stupa named Iñdikaṭusāya was built on a stone-faced platform. The base of the stupa is octagonal in plan (10′ 6″ each side), the diameter being 27 ft 6 ins. It was of granite to the height of two courses above the third terrace. Each terrace is about 1 ft 10 ins in height, the topmost being slightly higher than the others. The triplicated terrace stood at a height of 5 ft 6 ins above the floor of the platform. An ogee pltnth carved in a double opposed band of lotus petal formation constitutes the lowermost terrace. Torus, plain vertical block and a coping (cyma, ovolo, stepped) giving a beaklike section, forms each of the two remaining terraces. Above the third terrace rose the bell of the stupa from a low moulded plinth. A stone course rises from the plinth up to a height of 11 inches. The rest of the dome as it is preserved[25] today is of brickwork. As no example of this class of stupa has its dome in complete preservation, it is not possible to determine the form of the superstructure. That the dome was not hemispherical in shape is beyond doubt. During excavation work, Prof. Hocart found that it was elongated in shape[26] as in the stupas of a later date found at Sarnath and other Buddhist sites of India.

The square platform on which the stupa stood measures 41 ft 3 ins each side. It rose 5 ft 3 ins above ground level. The revetment consists of cyma reversa plinth, torus, block and double cyma (keel form) coping. Upon the latter was placed a parapet (1 ft 4 ins) quadrantal in section.

There is only one flight of steps giving access to the platform of the stupa. It faces the west. The steps, 13 in number and each 6 ft broad, are flanked by balustrades in which the plinth and torus mouldings of the platform base have been repeated. At the base of the flight of steps is a carved moonstone. On the platform of the stupa are low moulded slabs facing the cardinal directions.

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The stupa named Caṭusāya closely follows[27] the Iñdikaṭusāya in its architectural details. It stands on a stone platform 70 feet square. It has one flight of steps, facing the east. A stone flower altar is placed against the stupa. The design of the Vijayārāma stupa too is very much the same, the difference being that at the last named site, there are four flights of steps from the cardinal points giving accesss to the premises.

Tiriyay

The stupa at Tiriyay has been identified as a monument of the Mahāyānists on the evidence of a rock inscription at the site. This record refers to this stupa as an abode of Avalokiteśvara. There is also a reference to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the same document. From a study of the record, the student is led to assume that sculptures of these Bodhisattvas were set up within the premises of this stupa.

At present the monument has been conserved[28] by the Archaeological Department. The site, which is on the summit of a low hill and about an acre in extent, appears to have been artifically levelled. Enclosing the site was a wall having a gateway to the east. The circular shrine enclosing the stupa (Sinh. *vata-dā-ge* ; Skt. **vṛtta-dhatu-gṛha*) was built in the centre of this enclosure. Other ruins to be noticed about the site are probably of a later date.

The original stupa had been enlarged in later times and as a result it is apparent that there were two periods in its history. As it stands today it is 32 ft 6 ins in diameter whereas originally it was about 24 ft 9 ins. The base of the earlier stupa contained ovolo mouldings. The enlarged stupa also rises from a moulded base. Rubble mixed with brickbats had been used to fill the intervening space between the face of the earlier stupa and the outer shell of a later date. During conservation work by the Archaeological Department, the face of the earlier stupa in one quadrant was left exposed to view to enable the visitor to understand its history. The dome of the stupa, as it stands conserved today, rises to a height of about 3 or 4 feet above the topmost basal terrace. What remained of the stupa has been conserved. It is not possible to say how its superstructure rose. There is no trace of the relic chamber, as the treasure hunters had forestalled the archaeologist.

The stupa stood on a circular platform, 79 feet in diameter. It was paved with stone. On this pavement are two concentric circles of pillars. The inner circle of pillars is at a distance of 3 ft 6 ins from the base of the stupa. The outer circle of pillars is at a distance of 12 ft 9 ins from the inner circle and about 16 feet from the base of the stupa.

With regard to the inner circle of pillars, only one pillar is in position From the base upwards this pillar is octagonal. The pillars of the outer circle are all in situ. The height of each pillar up to the capital is 14 ft 6 ins. Up to height of 4 ft the base, these are square in section and therefore they assume an octagonal shape. At Tiriyay, the capitals and

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the pillars together form one manolith. In many of the capitals there are no carvings.

There are four moulded slabs of granite intended to be altars, facing the cardinal points. Those on the southern and northern sides measure 5 ft 6 ins by 3 ft while the other two measure 5 ft by 2 ft 6 ins. Above the moulded base is a vertical face containining panels of squatting lions and floral designs in relief. The cornice is also moulded. Of the four altars, the better preserved ones are on the eastern and southern sides.

Facing the cardinal points and in line with the altars are flights of steps, giving access to the pavement. Each flight of steps has the usual adjuncts, the moonstone, *nāga* guardstones and the *makara* balustrade. The risers of the steps contain lotus petal mouldings. There was a stone doorway at the head of each flight of steps of which only the door jambs are remaining. The *nāga* guardstones suggest the influence of the Pallava school of art. The *nāga* kings with their elongated limbs and austerity in their facial expression are not heavily bedecked with jewellery. They carry the usual objects in their hands.

The circular platform is held by a stone revetment 10 ft. 3 ins in height from ground level. Above the level of the platform the inner face rises to a height of 6 feet as a free standing wall (2 ft. 7 ins. thick). The outer and inner facing of this wall is of dressed stones. Its base on the exterior side is moulded and above this rises a vertical face terminating in a cornice containing mouldings as at the base. From the cornice rises the free standing wall and is capped by cyma coping.

In the *vaṭa-dā-ge* at Tiriyay there is no circular brick wall as in the examples at Polonnaruva and Madirigiriya. As a compensatory measure there appears to have been a railing covering the space between the top of the stone wall and the roof as suggested by the square holed cantilever projections inserted into the coping. It is likely that these projections held the wooden uprights of the railing. In this connection the circular shrine at Tiriyay differed from the corresponding examples of its kind.

The *nāga* guardstones suggest the influence of the Pallava school of sculpture. The rock inscription at the site is Mahāyānist in content. It is in Sanskrit and engraved in Pallava Grantha characters of South India of about the seventh century. A single line inscription on a flagstone in the pavement of the stupa is in Sinhalese characters of about the 9th century. The stupa itself, relatively small in size, displays certain architectural features which are found in such Mahāyānist stupas such as Iñdikaṭusāya and Vijayārāma.

Vijayārāma Stupa

The monastery named Vijiayārāma situated to the north of Anuradhapura has already been referred to. The stupa at the site[29], built on the eastern side of a raised quadrangle, has been identified as a monument erected by the Mahāyānists on account of the architectural features that it

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displays and on the evidence of the inscriptions discovered within the debris of the stupa.

The base of the stupa is octagonal (each side 10 ft. 6 ins), the diameter being 27 ft. 6 ins. It shows at the base three concentric stages of mouldings. Each stage of this triplicated terrace is of uniform height but receding proportionately from the one below. These concentric courses reach a height of 5 ft 3 ins and is devoid of ornamentation. At the point where the mouldings terminate and where the plain surface of the bell of the stupa appears, there is a course of moulding in the form of open petals of the lotus. It is probable that above this point was a course of plain stone and then a casing of bricks as at the Iñdikṭusāya. The superstructure consisting of the tee and the pinnacle might have been of brick and plastered. It has been conjectured that the height of the stupa above the platform was 25 ft. 6 ins. The plinth, bell, tee and spire taken separately could have been 5′ 3″, 8′, 3′ and 5′ respectively.

The platform on which the stupa stood is 42 feet square. It is paved with granite slabs. Facing the cardinal points is a flight of steps giving access to the platform of the stupa. There are ten steps, each 6 feet wide. flanking the steps are balustrades of the simplest type. The guardstones are carved on the outer face with vase patterns, each pair differing from the other three in size and carving. Each guardstone differs slightly from its fellow in size too. At the bottom of the flight of steps is a moonstone.

The stone basement which holds the platform of the stupa is made up of massive gneiss slabs. Except for the usual mouldings, it is almost plain and without carving and rises to a height of 7 feet up to the parapet which caps the cornice.

The stupa had been rifled many years before H.C.P. Bell started excavations. There is hardly any trace of the brickwork now. It has been conjectured that the monument was executed in the following manner[30] :— "The foundations of the raised platform strongly put in ; the stone revetment built up next backed by rubble only and no mortar being used ; earth and brick debris used to fill in the interior space up to the level of the coping ; the pavement thereafter laid and also a single-course parapet along the coping of the revetment ; the extreme circumference of the base of the stupa out at the centre of the platform and the lower courses then built. The brick foundations and walls of the chamber to enshrine the relics (6 feet square × 3 feet deep) were laid in the centre of the platform. The largest of these bricks measured 1 ft ×8 ins. These were bound by a strong mortar and laid in simple courses. The relics being deposited, the cella was closed and covered by stone slabs. The base, the dome, the tee and the spire being completed, the construction of the stupa would then have been completed."

The only valuable finds to determine the date and nature of Vijayārāma monastery were copper plaques with inscriptions on them.

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These, no doubt, were originally deposited in the relic chamber and were thrown away into the debris by the treasure hunters as they were of no value to them. They contain invocations to Mahāyāna deities and, relying on this evidence, the monument has been regarded as a relic of the Mahāyānists.

Puliyankulama Stupa

The stupa was built on the raised quadrangle[31] of the monastery and was situated to the south of Vihāra No. 3. In plan it shows a similarity to the Sela-cetiya at Anuradhapura. At the Vijayārāma monastery, access to the premises of the stupa is by means of a flight of steps facing the cardinal directions. At Puliyankulama premises, the stupa is given access by only two flights of steps *i.e.* on the north and west sides while at the Sela-cetiya, these are placed on the south and east—a direct contrast.

The stupa rose on a square platform, 46 feet each side. The base of the stupa stood at a distance of 10 feet from the edge of the platform. Of the stupa itself nothing now remains. The relic chamber was a brick walled cella (4 ft square and 2 ft 6 ins. deep). At the bottom was a *yantragala* of nine square partitions covered by a slab. Ten inches above it, the interspace being filled with earth, there was a second slab, at the centre of which were three cup-like depressions, set out triangularly. It is very likely that this was the relic chamber and that the relics were deposited in the cup-like depressions. The treasure hunters had despoiled the chamber of its relics leaving the *yantragala* and the two stone slabs alone. If it is to be assumed that a slab once covered the brick cella, then its position would have been on the same plane as the stone-faced pavement. Just below ground level was the *yantragala* together with its covering slab.

The platform of the stupa was stone-flagged[32]. At the cardinal points were placed altars of moulded stone together with slabs carved with the Foot-prints. The latter was probably placed agcinst the stupa in front of the moulded altars.

The two flights of steps giving aecess to the platform of the stupa faced the northern and western sides. Each stair contained nine steps (each 6′ 2″ wide) flanked by a plain balustrade and having a moonstone at the base. The guardstones are carved on the front sides with lotus vase designs as at Vijayārāma.

As there are no remains of the stupa, it is not possible to conjecture as to how it rose above the platform. There is, however, little doubt that it followed the pattern of the Vijayārāma stupa. On the evidence[33] of inscriptions discovered at the monastery site, this monument may also be taken as a relic of the Mahāyānists of Ceylon.

NATHA-DEVALE, KANDY

The Nātha-devāle (*geḍige*) at Kandy is a building[34] of the 14th century, in which an image of Nātha (Avalokiteśvara) has been deposited. The

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temple is devoted to the worship of Nātha, whose cult (in the form of a local development), has persisted down to modern times. A general description of this interesting monument may, therefore, not be out of place in an article dealing with the relics of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon.

On ground plan, the temple consists of a cella with a porch in front. Externally it measures 20½ ft × 10 ft with a projection 10 ft × 6½ ft. Internally the cella is a square of 10 ft each side and the ante-chamber 7½ ft × 6 ft. The walls of the sanctuary are 4 ft. thick but those of the ante-chamber are only 1 ft 6 ins in thickness. The building is surrounded by a rectangular stone wall 36 ft x 40 ft, the thickness of the wall being 1 ft 9 ins.

The temple is three-storeyed (the upper storeys being non-functional) and is surmounted by a votive stupa (in place of the *śikhara* or dome of Dravidian buildings). From the base up to the finial of the stupa, the height is 33 feet.

The moulded base is about 5′ 5″ in height and has the chamfered torus characteristic of Dravidian buildings. In the elevation of the walls, the style followed is that of the shrine at Gadaladeni (which is distinctly Dravidian). The exterior face of the building is ornamented with pilasters. The latter (10′ 5″ high) rises from the topmost moulding of the base and terminates at the point where the ground floor ends and the first storey begins. These pilasters have capitals and corbels of the late Pāndya and early Vijayanagara type. The miniatnre shrine adorning the facade is simple in design and does not contain sculptures.

The first storey (5′ in height) begins with an architrave of bed mouldings projecting over the brackets. The plainness of the wall surface is relieved by a series of recesses. The second storey (8 ft) is higher than the one below it. It rests on an architrave which also projects out. The third storey is 5 ft in height and is of equal height as the first storey. Above the third storey is the stupa (the equivalent of the *śikhara*), the crown of the edifice. On the four sides of the stupa are ornamental devices which are named as *kūḍu* in Dravidian architecture.

On architectural grounds, the date of this building may be regarded as the 14th century. By this time, Mahāyānism had ceased to be a living force in Ceylon, but it should be noted that the cults introduced by the adherents of this school persisted down to very late times. The worship of Avalokiteśvara is still prevalent in Ceylon in the locally developed cult of Nātha as at this shrine and elsewhere where images of that deity are placed and worshipped.

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NATHA-DEVALE, VEGIRIYA

Nātha-devale at Vegiriya is an institution[35] of the 14th century. The rock inscription at the site dated 1415 A.D. refers[36] to (God) Lokeśvara-Nātha, who may be identified with Avalokitaśvara. The temple may b e

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called a cave shrine as the objects of worship are placed within a cave (since converted into a shrine room). Against the building is an overhanging rock boulder.

The cave is partitioned into two by means of a common wall to contain two cellae, one for the deity and another for the worship of the Buddha. An *antarāle* (10′ × 8′) common to both shrines, has also been partitioned into two by means of a common wall. A devotee could, however, pass from one side on the *antarāle* to the other by means of the doorway through the partition wall. A *maṇḍapa* (25½ ft × 12 ft), oblong in plan, faces the *antarāle*. From outside the visitor may gain access to the *maṇḍapa* through the doorways facing the north, east and south. The main entrance, is however, on the north, at the doorsill of which is a moonstone. Facing the northern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* is a portico of modest proportions, having another moonstone at the entrance. The shrine of the Buddha is also provided with an entrance doorway on the northern side, having a partico in front of it.

The cella of the shrine (12′ × 10′) contains two images[37], one of Lokeśvara Nātha (Avalokiteśvara) and the other of his consort Biso Baṇḍāra (Tārā). The cella containing the Buddha image is larger in proportion (16½ ft × 8 ft roughly internally). It consists of a sedent Buddha image with the attendant images on either side and a votive stupa of about 8 feet in height.

The walls are of wattle and daub and lime-plastered. The roof is of wooden construction and is tiled. The roof extending over the porticoes rests on 9 pillars, six of which are monolithic and three wooden. Each pillar measures 6 ft. in height. These contain bracket capitals called *pekaḍas* in common parlance. The doorway giving access to the antechamber of the shrine of the deity is of wooden construction and is eleborately carved. The door jambs and lintels of the doorway facing the north and giving access to the shrine of the Buddha are of stone and carved with figures of rampant lions. Both the moonstones are carved with floral designs and animal patterns but these have worn out considerably.

The shrine is of the 14th century but it was probably renovated some time during the Kandy period. The rock inscription at the site enables us to identify the image of the god and of his consort as those of Lokesvara Nātha and Tārā. As we have seen earlier[38], the cult of Nātha as well as of Tārā had prevailed in the 14th century and, as we notice at the present day, these deities are invoked with devotion and festivals connected with their worship are conducted with much enthusiasm.

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V. S. Srinivasa Shastri

A. Ranganathan

"If the Indian liberals, who at one time led the Congress, had maintained their hold, if men like Gokhale, Chintamani or Tej Bahadur Sapru had gone on to fashion independence, the whole of Indian constitutional development would have looked rather like the consentient process in Australia, or Canada or even in Ceylon," observed Prof. Hugh Tinker in an address delivered at Chatham House. In the final analysis, however, it is possible to speak of Indian liberalism as an attitude, a pragmatic approach to political and social problems, and not as a particular school of thought or even a set of political programmes. Sastri's approach to liberalism was partly derived from his deep understanding of English history and partly based on the conviction that the Commonwealth would evolve towards an international pluralistic society based on a diversity of national systems in an atmosphere of individual freedom and respect for the rule of law. Viewed in historical perspective the spectrum of Indian nationalistic thought could be resolved into its component hues, prophetic with Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo, poetic with Derozio, Tagore and Subramanya Bharati, aesthetic with Ananda Coomaraswamy, ethical with Gandhi and Rajagopalachari, revolutionary with Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Subhas Bose, idealistic with Nehru and liberal with Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Gokhale, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Sivaswamy Aiyer and Sastri.

The Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946) was the liberal conscience of his generation, Celebrated as "the Empire's silver-tongued orator", Srinivasa Sastri symbolized the golden mean in Indian politics. Sastri's speeches were pre-eminently a kind of articulation at a sensitive level of a liberal response to any given political situation. For the running commentary of Sastri's cultivated talk over a lifetime did meaningfully capture the liberal temper, which influenced some of the finest minds in our time, but was never articulated with such effortless ease. This running commentary found a memorable stylistic form in Sastri's balanced, even-flowing cadences. Its meaning is universal, and its beauty permanent.

While reflecting on Sastri's contribution towards the evolving concept of the Commonwealth, one has inevitably to begin with his master Gokhale. Indeed the similarities between Sastri and Gokhale were remarkable. Both possessed a rare combination of qualities—moral austerity, high idealism,

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intellectual honesty, and an essentially liberal frame of mind which drew its inspiration not only from the ancient fountain-head of Indian values but also from that cultured liberal tradition which is reflected perhaps at its best in John Morley's memorable essay *On Compromise.* Again both of them believed in that "inscrutable providence" which had linked India with Britain, resulting in a gradually evolving concept, embracing in its sweep different countries and cultures, peoples of various colour and civilizations, without any rules or regulations or even a written constitution to bind them (chatacteristic of the British genius), yet ultimately based on a certain deeper unity harmonized by imponderable spiritual values originating from the Anglo-Saxon mandate of freedom.

"Membership of the Commonwealth", observed Mr. Peter Fraser, when Prime Minister of New Zealand, "is independence with something added and not independence with something taken away." Sastri maintained with equal force that even during the era of British rule in India the relationsip of India with Britain amounted to an addition of something, though with independence taken away. It is this addition of something which manifested itself in the replacement of the old concept of the Empire by the new ideal of the Commonwealth of Nations. Indeed Sastri's commitment to the Liberal cause transcended upward until he became the symbol of freedom in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Here, for example, is an extract from his 'Freedom of the City of London Acceptance Speech' delivered on July 29, 1921: "The joys of freedom are indeed difficult to describe; they can only be fully appre. ciated by those who have had the misfortune to lose them for a time . . . He who would circumscribe freedom to particular areas and to certain peoples knows not what he is doing, for he is taking away from humanity a possible contribution to its richness and glory, a contribution which I take it to be the will of providence that every race, every people should make in its own good time . . . rather, let this be said of your country in regard to India: "England took charge of a people divided from her by colour, by race and by culture. She fitted them for the tasks of empire, and when the time was ripe she gladly admitted them to be full and equal partners in the glory of empire and the service of humanity."

Sastri was one of the great orators of his time. In 1921, Prof. H.A.L. Fisher noted: "It was my privillege last September to be one of the delegates representing His Majesty's Government at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, and it is no flattery or exaggeration to say that the great sensation of the meeting was furnished by the eloquence of Mr. Sastri." But his oratory was of a more artistic kind. As Mr. N. Raghunthan has written[1]: "The reader can have no idea, from the printed reports, of the electric effect of his great speeches on the susceptible listener. Even more than in the case of most men who have held the attention of contemporaries by the spoken word, his voice and manner and the indefinable aura of personality made up a very large part of the charm. He had a dignified and engaging presence and at all times an unruffled air about him. In his

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voice he had a superb instrument, and he knew it. It was like the violin speaking in the hands of a Kreisler. Having heard him for the first time at Geneva, Balfour, no mean judge, said that he made him "realize the heights to which the English language could rise."

"Churchill," Kennedy said, "mobilized the English language and sent it into battle." Of Sastri, it could be said with equal justification that he gave the English language a new significance and sustained it in an ambience of liberal endevour. Sastri, a foreigner to the English tongue, altered the wave-length, raised the pitch and voiced the liberal accents of a new dialogue with the West. For he combined in himself the functions of the orator and the stateman--the orator opening up the possibilities of a dialogue between India and the liberal West, the statesman sensing the liberal tides in men and affairs.

Sastri's distinction lay for the most part in his inspired versatility which enabled him to switch from political speeches to the exposition of philosophical and literary concepts with equal facility. Here it is relevant to refer to his lecture on 'Indian philosophy'[2] which was delivered at the University of Witwatersrand in 1928. The opening passage indicates the silences and revelations that give the ancient idiom of Indian philosophy its peculiar sensibility: "Upwards of 4000 years ago, one branch of the great Aryan race dwelt on the banks of the great rivers of Upper India. The resources of nature were sufficient to spare them much physical exercise, for they could easily obtain the simple things they wanted without much trouble. The silence of the forest, profound and solemn, enabled the great Rishis of old to obtain communion with nature of a kind to which we moderns are absolutely unaccustomed. During the intercourse with nature, they obtained an insight into her secrets, which in these days appear simply marvellous. In particular, the Indian mind, endowed with a gift for speculation, is fond of devoting itself to research in the metaphysical region."

"Many schools of philosophy arose at that time and they began to differ, and at last crystallized into schools with specific names. Every variety of opinion was represented. There were atheists, sceptics, materialists, idealists and there were realists similar to those of whom we hear in Western philosophy. The way in which they discovered those truths—for every one of them called himself only a discoverer—was not through the ordinary processes of reasoning, but by the employment of what is sometimes called, in modern times, the power of intuition."

Sastri was also remarkably successful in finding a diction to explain the sublime dialectic of Sankara's 'Advaita Vedānta'. "The Vedānta itself," Sastri observed, "subdivided, and the subdivision that has reached the greatest reput tion in the world is that connected with the names of Bādarāyana and Sankara. Bādarāyana wrote down the substance of this philosophy in the form of Sūtras. The most famous of the commentaries written on the book of Bādarāyana was written about the beginning of

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the Christian era by the great scholar, Sankara, who was in many ways an original philosopher, although he called himself a mere commentator. Sankara's theory is so rigid a type of monism that it is now considered among those who can judge as perhaps the most acute and most severely logical type of monism extant . . . Sankara said that both the subjective and objective are real, agreeing with the realists to that extent. To him it was wrong to seprate into two parts what were united together as one act of consciousness. Sankara said that we call the intellect of consciousness and what we call the materiality of the objective world are only two different aspects of the same fact of human experience. To Sankara, therefore, the deep-lying reality which showed itself in conciousness both as subject and object is the fundamental substratum of the whole universe. . . . It is true to say that the word is Brahman; it is true to say that the individual soul is Brahman; but it will not be true to say that Brahman is the world that Brahman is the individual soul. . . . It is exceedingly difficult to employ the ordinary language of our logic and psychology in the description of the Brahman, of the higher metaphysics involved in Sankaras's teaching." And this argument led Sastri to the conclusion that "it is a mistake to say that Sankara's philosophy is the cold worship of the abstract, which cannot be worshipped—that it has no ethics at all, and even no possibility of ethics." To put it another way, the ultimate reality is unattainable without realizing the central concept of a personal God and Emerson sensed this in 'The Over Soul' when he said that "the Deity will shine through one who has found his centre."

As an interpreter of Indian culture, Sastri is best represented by his lectures on Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. His artistry resided in his ability to distil an era and an ethos in a detail: "The distilled experience of ages is given in stanzas of exquisite sententious grace. Hermitages, described with a wealth of houshold and sacrificial detail, invite you as to the intimacy of home. Forests and mountains and rivers, in pristine untamed grandeur, lose their terror in Vālmiki's pages, for while he mentions with particularity the paths and thorny lanes, the river-fords and the giant shelter-giving trees, he makes only occasional and unexciting allusions to the bloody fights and devastatious of beasts of prey, the bites and stings of poisonous insects, and the diseases and deformities caused by them, the movements from untenable to promising spots, of hamlets harassed by flood, fire and famine. . . . Ah, how I should love to learn and teach in those sanctuaries, *guru* and *sishya* bathing in safe pools together, chanting the Vedas aloud till the hills threw the sacred sounds back and the sylvan gods sat up and listened, our mutual companionship unperturbed by fear of lightning strikes or menacing processions or shootings by the king's police." His mind was not attracted by the historical method of academic scholarship, but by a haunting realization of the ultimate meanings of the true, the good, the beautiful and of the Indian tradition itself.

In a letter to Mr. Justice Holmes in 1930, Prof. Harold Laksi

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wrote: "The Indian problem goes slowly and with difficulty. . . . One or two of the Indians are really first-rate people, especially Sastri whom I should reckon among the noblest men I have ever met"—a charming tribute to a great statesman whose letters shed light on the main currents of the British era in Indian history, especially during the twenties and the thirties. As Sir P.S. Sivaswmy Aiyer once remarked: "I have had letters from almost all our great Indians. I don't think any other Indian can write half so delightfully as Sastri. There are other orators, but he is our only letter-writer." For instance, Sastri could fix in amber a thing of beauty like the Taj Mahal. "We gazed on it from near, admiring the blend of the many-coloured stones and their marvellous brilliance as they playfully threw back the moon's beams, Then we withdrew to a distance and tried each in his own way to realize the perfection of art which harmonized into one divine whole so many varied charms . . . there was a thick mist and we had great misgivings, but the moon in her meridian power seemed to conquer all obstacles and shone proudly on the Taj which smiled and glowed in answering triumph."

The Sastri-Gandhi letters constitute not only some of the most valuable documents of recent Indian history, but also give us an insight into the nature of their intimacy which ripened over the years. From the jail in Yerwada Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Sastri in 1933: "Your criticism soothes. Your silence makes me nervous. Time only deepens my love for you. Our differences appear to me to be superficial. Deep down I feel and touch the meeting ground, and that is precious." This letter reminds us of Sastri's celebrated apostrophe[4] of Mahatma Gandhi during the Second Round Table Conference at London in 1931: "Yes, Mahatma Gandhi, if I may apostrophise you, foregetting for a moment the Prime Minister, your duty is thereafer with us. You have acquired an unparalleled reputation. Your influence is unequalled. Your spiritual power to command men and to raise them above themselves is acknowledged all over the world. Shall not these great gifts be harnessed to the constructive work of the nation? . . . Do not dismiss us as people whose ideas are still evolving and may be long in reaching the heights of Congress wisdom. Believe me that with you and your chosen associates we can fashion our constitution to great ends, and India will have cause to be truly thankful that you changed your plans and came here. For the work of a great country like India, a growing nation like our people, lies in many directions. There is not one road to the salvation of our people, and patriotism takes many shapes and works in diverse ways according as circumstances may require. The circumstances today demand that you should change your plans, dismiss civil disobedience from your mind and take up this work in a spirit of complete trust in us and of faith in the British people, too. I want to tell you this. I have read some history, and, believe me, the British people often do wrong, the British people often take unwise courses. Nevertheless, in the long run they come back to the ways

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of reason, moderation and justice. This is one of the occasions when it seems to me that they are in their most winning and admirable mood, Take them now and victory is ours." Yet he had written in the *Sunday Graphic* of America, in 1922, that Mahatma Gandhi "had occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden before the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur." Paradoxically enough, his regard for Gandhi made him dissent from some of the programms of the Congress Party. Here is what he wrote to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on April 30, 1924: "While the prescription as a badge of a particular material or colour could not be reasonably objected to, the requirement that a Congressmen's entire dress should be made of a certain stuff, produced in a certain way, must act as a bar of exclusion against many sincere patriots well-deserving of a place in the premier political organization of the country but who have been taught to believe that a sartorial regulation based upon inadequate data and unproven assumptions does violence to the fundamental liberty of the individual." On another occasion Sastri said: "The Mahatma's supreme merit is his unflinching devotion to the goodess of Truth in her various phases. Let us be his co-worshippers, not his worshippers."

Sastri was essentially the cross-bencher in politics, he rationalized his own situation as follows: "The cross-bencher is not beloved of his tribe, but the cross-bench mind is an ever-present and an ever-growing need." For Sastri at his best stood, on the one hand, for principle against the British bureaucrats; on the other hand for practical good sense against the Indian doctrinaires. Here it is well to record his memorable work as India's first Agent-General in South Africa. In the period of 1927—1929, which was immortalized by the *Natal Advertiser* of Durban as "the brilliant reign of Mr. Sastri," he successfully administered the Capetown Agreement in a setting where the South African Indians were as critical as the South African Government.

Sastri's chief title to fame is his spacious instinct for the future. He foresaw the nature of the rivalry between the liberal West and the Soviet dispensation that was dramatized by Wilson and Lenin in 1917. In his foreword to Woodrow Wilson's *Message for the Eastern Nations*, Sastri viewed the problem of self-government in a pluralistic framework of liberal values. According to him, this approach is more historically meaningful and spiritually satisfying than the socialistic vision of a world moving through relentless stages to the deterministic conclusion of a totalitarian society.

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Navy in Ancient India

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There is a general impression even among educated Indians that though kings of ancient India had powerful armies they hardly ever maintained a navy. This view is certainly wrong. It is now definitely proved that perhaps as far back as 1000 B.C., if not earlier, Indian trading vessels plied the ocean to carry rich merchandise to foreign countries.

Unfortunately, a lack of historical sense which characterises the Hindus has deprived us of all knowledge of this maritime activity. But indirect evidence leaves no doubt of its existence. Ancient Indian literature is full of stories of the maritime adventures of traders and Kshatriya princes who crossed the eastern sea to foreign lands, and vividly describes the dangers of many of these voyages. Chinese literature and south-east Asian literature and inscriptions throw light on them.

The first detailed account of the trade and maritime activity of the Indians is given in a book written by a Greek sailor in the first century A.D. He himself undertook a voyage from the head of the Red Sea to India and describes in detail the many harbours on the western and eastern coasts of India, from the mouth of the Indus river to that of the Ganges. He refers to the ships built in India which visited the coasts of Arabia, Persia and Africa in the west, and Burma, Siam and Malay Peninsula in the east. Indian merchants carried their goods in these vessels and the author found large settlements of Indians in the island of Socotra, off the eastern coast of Africa. In particular, the Greek author mentions the steps taken by the Indian kings to pilot vessels through the dangerous shoals and currents at the mouth of many rivers like the Narmada. Well-manned large boats, called by the Greek author *trappago* and *cotymba*, went up the coast as far as the Kathiawar Peninsula in order to pilot the vessels at the mouth of the Narmada. "They steered the vessels straight from the mouth of the bay between the shoals with their crew and towed them to fixed stations, going up with the beginning of the flood, and lying through the ebb at anchorages and the basins." Broach was an important harbour and we are told that large vessels were regularly sent from Broach to the Arabian and Persian coast, "loaded with copper and sandalwood and timbers and teakwood and logs of blackwood and ebony."

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The next detailed account of the Indian navy is found in the account of Fa-hien, a Chinese Buddhist monk, who visited India at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. On his return journey he took his passage at Tamluk in a large merchant vessel. As an eye-witness account of a journey in an Indian vessel across the sea, Fa-hin's account possesses a unique interest, and no apology is needed to quote some passages from it in order to convey an idea of the sea voyage of those days, more than fiteen hundred years ago.

With a favourable wind Fa-hien's vessel sailed day and night for fourteen days and reached the coast of Ceylon. So far the journey was uneventful. Not so the next part of the journey from Ceylon to Java. Fa-hien took his passage in a large merchantman on board of which there were more than 200 men, and to which was attached by a rope a small vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded estward for three days, and then they encountered a great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and the water came in. The merchants wished to go to the smaller vessel, but the men on board, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, fearing risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would sink, they threw their bulky goods into the water. Fa-hien also took his pitcher and washing-basin, with some other articles, and threw them into the sea ; but fearing that the merchants would throw overboard his books and images, he could only think with all his heart of Kwanshepyin (Avalokitesvara) and commit his life to (the protection of) the church of the land of Han (China) (saying effect), "I have travelled far in search of our Law. Let me, by your dread and supernatural (power), return from my wanderings, and reach my resting place."

The tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered and was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west ; only by observing the sun, the moon and the stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather was dark and rainy (the ship) went as she was carried by the winds without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they would drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

"After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days, they arrived at a country called Java-dvipa (Java)."

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Such were the perils of sea-voyage even in the fifth century A.D. But seven hundred years before that the State maintained vessles for military purposes also. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador who visited the court of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan Empire, some time about three hundred years before the birth of Christ, has recorded that the Admiralty was one of the six departments into which the military organisation of the Mauryas was divided. He does not give details, but it is obvious that there would not have been any need of a special department of Admiralty if war vessels were not used in large numbers. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, reputed to be the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, also refers to an official called the Superintendent of Ships. One of his duties was to examine the accounts relating to navigation in oceans. The State also maintained ships to carry passengers and merchandise, for which regular sailing fees were prescribed.

One of the rules laid down in the *Arthasastra* is of special interest. It runs as follows: "Pirate ships, vessels which are bound for the country of an enemy, as well as those which have violated the customs and rules in force in port towns, shall be destroyed." The following rule also throws light on navigation in those days. "The Superintendent of Boats shall make good the loss caused by the loss of the boat due to the heavy load, sailing in improper time or place, or lack of repair." We are further told that whenever a weather-beatenship arrives at a port-town the Superintendent of Ships shall show fathering kindness to it. Ships that touched at harbours on their way were required to pay tolls.

Thirteen hundred years paased after the reign of Chandragupta Maurya before we come across another Indian State maintaining a powerful navy, The Cholas, who ruled in South India, possessed a large number of war vessels with which they conquered a number of islands. But their great naval exploit was to send a military expedition across the Bay of Bengal to Java, Sumatra, and Malay Peninsula. About the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the Sailendra kings ruled over Indonesia, and their vast empire, rougly speaking, coincided with the Dutch empire in the East Indies in the nineteenth century A.D. The Sailendras maintained friendly relations with both the Palas of Bengal and the Cholas of Madras. But, for reasons not at present known, the great Chola emperor Rajendra Chola sent a naval expedition against the mighty Sailendras. The Chola army conquered one by one the important strongholds of the Sailendras in Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula, and maintained their hold on their distant overseas possessions for quite a number of years. Considering the nature and size of the wooden vessels of those days, it was a highly remarkable feat to transport a big army with stores and equipment right across the vast expense of the Bay of Bengal.

This wonderful feat brings the story of the ancient Indian navy to a close. But Indians were adept in ship-building and the commercial vessels

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of India crossed the seas throughout the succeeding centuries. Although the Arabs had a large share in the maritime trade of India during the Medieval Age, the ships trading with India, whether they belonged to Indians or to Arabs (including Egyptians), were built mainly, if not exclusively, in India. Down to the beginning of nineteenth century the Indian-built ships aroused the envy of the Europeans and this Indian industry was killed by the English rulers of India by the abuse of their political power.

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Science of Motion in India : A Historical Retrospect

DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE

IN THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION practical arts began to develop to meet the necessities of life and various theories began to be formed about the composition of substances and the working of the universe. In the beginning they were entirely of a speculative nature with practically no experimental verification, but were almost at par with some of the theories of the mid-Victorian age. One of them is known as the Samkhya-Patanjala System, and the other as the Nyaya-Vaiseshika Theory. According to the former, the universe is evolved out of an unmanifested cosmic nature termed *prakriti* which is definedias "an ultimate and indeterminate infinite continum of infinitesimal reals"; whereas the latter discusses the hypothesis of atoms (*paramānu*) which are eternal, spherical and individuable. They are the cause of the impermanence in this material universe and are responsible for its creation. Subsequently, it attributed this disturbance to the force of *adrista* (fate or invisible cause) which may be regarded as the efficient cause of the evolutionary process; whereas the atoms are its mere material cause. The whole scheme is, therefore, based on the spiritual conception of the creation, not very unlike Jeans' idea of the universe.

Following Vaiseshika aphorism Prasatapada discussed the theory of motion a few centuries before the European era and began it with the definition of motion as the change of place in a particle. In its simplest form he regarded motion as instantaneous, thus distinguishing it from impressed motion or momentum (*vega*) which is persistent tendeney (*sanskāra*) and implies a series of motion. He also differentiated it as natural or forced as can be found on earth. For instance, all motions are, like vegetable or animal life that comes to a natural end after its course has been run, limited in duration. In the same way, all celestial bodies—the sun, the moon, the stars that circle round[1] us would also come to an end.

It may be mentioned here that the Indian astronomers did not, like the Greeks[2], consider divinity while explaining movements of celestial or terrestrial bodies, and did not regard all motion as circular or spherical[3]. On the contrary Sankara Misra discussed all varieties of motion—linear, curvilinear, rotary and vibratory and called them *gamana*. Single particles, then, might have a serial motion; but different particles may move in different directions, e.g., the falling leaf driven by the wind might have a rotatory

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or vibratory motion and might have, at the same time, a vertical downward motion, caused by gravity. Sankara Misra, in his *Upaskāra* of the Vaiseshika, added that fluidity is not a characteristic property of certain kinds of molecules but only a concomitant condition of gravity—the main cause of the motion—acting on the particles of the fluid. He further added that there are certain motions the material cause of which was unknown and was, therefore, ascribed to the universal final cause (*adrista*), viz. the first motion of atoms at the beginning of the creation, the movement of iron towards the magnet, and the capillary motion of liquid particles to the stem of a plant.

Thus a motion, being caused by a known or an unknown force, is conceived as a change of place in a particle. It cannot, therefore, produce another motion; but the force, which produees the initial motion, causes a tendency to motion (*vega*) which brings about continued motion in a straight line. On the one hand, therefore, *vega* is an impressed motion and can be counteracted by contact with tangible objects, namely friction or impact; while on the other, it is a momentum producing work in opposition to the resisting force, and thereby becoming weaker and weaker until it comes to an end. This is practically Newton's First Law of Motion, and the Vaiseshika theory of motion deserves all the credit for its formulation.

Undyotkara of the Nyāya school adds that pressure is produced by contact acting in conjunction with motion—electricity, gravity, fluidity or volition; and agreeing with him Shridhara, the great commentator on the Nyāya Bhāsya, states that a heavier body falls to the ground with greater *vega* and velocity than the one which is lighter and has thus made a mistake similar to that of Aristotle. He also holds that the gravity of a body composed of particles is not the same as the sum of the gravity of the particles, although the difference is negligible. This is a strange metaphysical speculation; but it is in consonance with the idea of mass in Lorenz's New Mechanics. It is rather amazing by what methods such a knowledge had been gained in those days.

The later commentators of the Vaiseshika state that in the beginning motion is produced by gravity alone, and this leads to *sanskāra* in the same direction; but as gravity continues to work, the motion, following the first, is caused both by gravity as well as impressed motion (*sanskāra*), The resultant motion is one, but both the causes are to be conceivcd as contribution to the resultant. In the case of the falling body, therefore, there is the combination of the two—the gravity and the impressed motion (*vega*), both acting in the same direction from the second instant onwards. The two motions, so to say, coalesce and result into one. This gives an idea of the accelerated motion of falling bodies, and thus the famous discovery of Galileo was forestalled, although the observations and measurements of motion were not substantiated experimentally.

On the other hand, Aristotle's theory of dynamics was defective, for he had asserted that force = mass × velocity, and thus made a fatal mistake

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in his calculation. He defined velocity by "dividing a distance by the time". The true relation, as we know, is

Force = Mass × Acceleration.

It may be that the words "force", "mass" and "velocity" did not, at that time, acquire their present theoretical meanings; but he, obviously, lacked a clear notion of acceleration which his contemporary Indian philosophers showed in their dissertations.

Following the Vaiseshika Sutras, Sridhara and other commentators regarded the flight of a stone or other projectile as due to impulsive force that, counteracting gravity, produces motion; but when *vega* is lost through friction with air, it falls to the ground owing to gravity. This is exactly what the modern idea about the projection made by a flying body is. Furthermore, it was conceived that a number of motions may be impressed on a particle; but so long as these are in a uniform direction, the resultant motion must be in a straight line. It is only when *gamana* (curvilinear motion) and its causes are considered that "the question of composition assumes a real significance. In all such cases, each separate particle has only one *vega* (impressed motion) in a definite direction at any given instant, but the composition of the successive motions and *vega* in the same particle produces curvilinear motions."[4] The movement of the body is the resultant of the combined motions of the particles. If, however, there is a pressure or impact in the opposite direction to the *vega*, the resultant would be in the opposite direction as in the case when the rubber ball rebounds after striking the earth. This is due to the fact that the impressed force, i.e., impact, produces a changed motion in a different direction. Two explanations were given. From one point of view the original *vega* is destroyed, and then a new *vega* is produced by the impact. From the other, the impact does not destroy the original *vega* but conjointly with it produces a changed motion, resulting in a changed *vega* in a new direction.

Regarding the vortical motion (*gamana*) the Vaiseshika doctor, Udayana, says that it is due to the contact of two bodies moving in opposite directions with a similar momentum. This happens when two currents of air or water meet from opposite directions, the change being seen when water or air receives an upward thrust as a result of the collision. On the other hand, the rotatory motion results from the separate motions of the particles and their persistent tendencies. Thus when a potter's rod strikes the wheel the motion of the wheel so struck is first produced by impact, while the other parts of the wheel rotate "through the transmission of force due to the rigid cohesion of parts. When the rod is disjoined from the wheel the rotatory motion continues, being due merely to the persistent tendencies in the constituent parts and the resultant persistent tendency in the whole",[5]

In the movement of fluids Sankara Misra holds that gravity is responsible for the downward flow of water. If, however, the water is enclosed on all sides as in a vessel, the downward flow is not possible, and hence no

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motion is produced because of the resistance of the vessel counteracting the fluidity. He adds that in evaporation the liquid particles are rarified and remain in a fine state of suspension, the refraction being due to the impulse or impact of the heat particles in the sun's rays, causing an upward movement In boiling a similar action takes place; steam is formed and is driven upwards owing to the impact of heat rays.

Gangādhar Kaviratna has, in his commentary, gone a few steps farther and states that steam is driven upward owing to the pressure of the atmosphere, adding that the upward conduct of water in pipes is also due to air pressure. This is a definite approach to Galileo's air pump experiment. Moreover, by taking the water pipe in different positions, Gangādhar foreshadowed Boyle and Pascal by proving that air exerts equal pressure from all directions. Furthermore, unlike Aristotle who considered the impossibility of a perfect vacuum, he conceived a void space, but he had no means of performing Torricelli's experiment and of creating a vacuum.[6]

While defining motion as the change of position of a parricle in spac Vāchaspati took three axes, the position in space of one particle relatively to the other being indicated by distances measured along these three axes. For astronomical purposes, he made similar devices, the position of a heavenly body in space being shown with reference to these three axes. Thus by conceiving a geometrical analysis in a three-dimensional space, he laid the foundation of analytical and solid geometry ages before the Cartesian co-ordinates in two and three dimensions were known in Europe.

Further Sankara Misra gave the instances of capillary action—the ascent of the sap in plants from the root to the stem, and the penetrative diffusion of liquids in porous vessels; but since he could not ascertain this sort of action either by perception or inference he ascribed it to *adrista* (invisible cause). Continuing his arguments, he supported Kanāda in attributing the first motion in primordial atoms at the beginning of creation to *adrista* and, depending on Prasastoapada and Sridhara's commentaries, he argued that movements in masses of matter on earth, viz., earthquakes, tides, hurricanes etc., might be also so caused. Aryabhatta and his school that held heliocentric views, must have brought, under this head, the diurnal and annual motion of the earth; but this fact remained unnoticed. Moreover, the movement of a needle towards a magnet, the attraction of grass and straw by amber, and the involuntary movements of the limbs under the influence of a hypnotist, were also attributed to this cause.

To sum up, the Babylonians and the Egyptians cared only for the continuity of their records and a reliable calendar to interpret them; but the Indians of antiquity, like the Greeks of those days, went deep into the matter of physical astronomy and dynamics and tried to theorise all the natural phenomena which they had come across. It can now be safely construed that the natural philosophers of ancient India were considerably ahead of their corresponding Greek rivals, specially in kinetics.

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[1] In those days Aryhbhatta's heliocentric theory, like that of Aristarchos's, was not prevalent, and the masses had a geocentric idea.

[2] Aristotle believed that like God all heavenly objects were permanent, and only the earthly ones were transitory.

[3] Supporting Eudoxes' geometric analysis, Aristotle believed that all heavenly bodies moved in concentric circles of which the earth was the centre and so they have no beginning and no end. Thus there was an absolute contrast between the Divine Heaven and the Mortal Earth.

[4] Seal, B.N. : *Positive Sciences.* pp. 142-3.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 144-5.

[6] In 1645, E. Torricelli invented the barometer and created a vacuum.

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Notes & News

THE MAGICAL CONCEPT OF MOTHER KALI

The general motive underlying the popular worship of the Mother Goddess Kali in India was to gain some divine influence for getting worldly gain and safety from worldly dangers. And sometimes the favour of the Goddess was sought for obtaining success in anti-social activties, observes Sri Arobinda Datta Gupta of the Anthropological Survey of India in a paper read at the 37th session of the Indian Science Congress held at Kharagpur in December 1969. This, the author remarks, "is not religion but a safety-valve for men's fear and love of aggrandizement."

"The basic concept of worship got its recent religious colour while each individual group tried to influence the others, "says Shri Datta Gupta". "Phenomenal changes in the by-gone days made man terrorized and, as such, by name they imagined some gods and goddesses to give release from the wrath of nature. The concept of God did not come originally through reverence ; rather man formed the idea of God through fear from the wrath of nature. This state continued for a long time. Becoming wiser, man rebrushed his ideas and felt the necessity for representing his faith in an unseen power through religion. But for regional influences of various sects diversity in religions would not have suffered differences from the basic qualities of its sermons.

"The categorization of gods and goodesses, too, has been largely determined by sectarian consideration. When one group overpowered others, conversion from one religion to another would be the natural sequel. Love of God was seldom a positive dynamic force for the adoption of any religion.

"The concept of an all-powerful but benevolent God is relatively recent. The Universal Mother Goddess Kāli, spreading destruction all around, is a legacy starting from long before the pre-Aryan times. It characterises. Kāli thus :

'Kāli karāla badanā binishkrāntatipushini
Bichitra khattāngadharā naramālābibhusanā'

"The inner significance of the 'Sakti cult' was misinterpreted to the common people and as such Kāli was popularly worshipped even by the non-Hindus. Thus popularity of the 'Sakti cult' mostly emanated from factors and circumstances which had little to do with any religious teachings. Even now these are not absolutely flawless from the point of view of ethics. Rapid changes in the method of worship can be observed in different regions and in some cases it can hardly be identified whether at all it has got any re-

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ligious basis. The priestly classes in ancient days were hardly free from traditional vices and so what they propagated held not unoften little moral or religious value.

"Faith in the magical concept of the Mother Goddess grew largely by the rustic-illogical-rural way of belief. Those who belonged to this school of thought were clever enough to put the influence of the Mother Goddess before the prospective followers—in most cases they took help of suggestion through dreams. Obviously they considered those dreams, if at all, more or less a part of heavenly Providence.

'Publicity ran like wildfire to popularise the Mother Goddess amongst the people who thought it wise to believe. Persons who propgated the idea never sat content with mere nominal publicity. To make a more effective impression, they made the images of Kāli in different shapes and this gave birth to various worshippers practising varying rites, and Mother Goddess Kāli got different names—Ekojatā, Dhakshinā Kāli, Rakshā Kāli, Sasān Kāli, Bhadra Kāli, Dākāte Kāli, Ānnā Kāli, Tārā, Chhinnamastā and Dhumābati. Thus worship continued in different forms and religious customs which were not always in conformity to the concept of Hindu religion. We shall have to examine how popularly beliefs were expressed in different ways in conformity to the socio-religious condition of times.

"While analysing the worship of Dākāte Kāli it should be borne in mind that the motive behind the whole effort was to gain some divine influence and exert it in anti-social activities. According to an ancient belief, worshippers used to exercise hypnotic influences and, by doing so, often they succeeded in their campaign of plunder and molestation. Induced by rural prejudices, some of the devotees were crazy enough to practise human slaughter (*narabali*) with the expectation to tame the turbulent river when bridges were being constructed in some part of East Bengal (now East Pakistan). There is historical evidence that such a type of Kāli worship was largely organised by 'Birānganā Rāni Rāibāghini', about eight hundred years ago. Other than common ingredients, e.g. *Gangā Jal* (water of the Ganga river), new cloth, fruits, flowers, sandal, vermillion, conch-shells, cowrie and copper metal, different pictures of other gods and goddesses were placed in order before the altar. Practice of this type of image worship indicated a wild urge to satisfy irrational desires. As regards the worship of Sasān Kāli we could hold no better ideas than traditional rural beliefs. Besides the common ingredients like rice, fruits and sweets, the practice of sacrificing goats and sheep before the alter of the Goddess were common items in the worship. Magical belief encouraged the priest to heal diseases of the villagers by some local herbs and indigenous medicines. Priests used to get the idea of distributing medicines through dream prescriptions from the Mother Goddess.

"The life of man in any society is easy to describe but it is difficult to define. With the growth of civilisation it changes. Basically no religion changes its colour. What we observe as behavioural changes are nothing

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more than common rites and traditional performances which are gradually relayed from the present to future societies. Since we cannot separate our life from religion it will be equally unthinkable to attempt to segregate our activities from the entire set-up of religious life. Attempts to win our objectives in social life will necessarily be inadequate if our grievances stem from an idealized view of society. Worship of God never became so popular to man till some motives of gain were introduced.

"Careful observation will explain how behind the worship of the Mother Goddess Kāli lay the very mundane motives of wordly gain and safety from worldly dangers. Necessarily those worshippers addressed the Mother Goddess in different names having various functions. How of all gods and goddesses Kāli was described as possessing such terrific power was more than anybody could reasonably explain or speculate. Problems which seemed apparently beyond solution by any human effort were mostly thrown before Kāli to dispose of. Village chiefs, mostly from the ecclesiastical community, thought it would be wise to divide the functions of Kāli under different headings with different name. They were eagerly bent upon assigning different functions to the Kālis with various names.

'Perhaps it would be quite relevant to state our conclusion in the form of a direct proposition. While worshipping the Mother Goddess Kāli the devotees had gone one step backward in their traditional quest of religious faith. Facts will substantiate our view. We know how the people fell to worshipping Rakshā Kāli when they were scared by epidemics. Taboos and superstitions seem to be the guidlng forces of men who are anxious to cool the wrath of natural forces. Similar instances could be cited if we analyse the activities of dacoits while they worshipped the Dākāte Kāli in order to succeed in their predatory ventures. Despite the rapid growth of civilization, people in their day-to-day life could not outgrow some inborn tendencies which found expression in their conception of a monstrous Mother Goddess who is out on destruction and can be appeased by prayers and offerings. This is not religion, but a safety-valve for men's fear and love of aggrandizement.

"Sacrifices of various kinds before the altar of the Mother Goddess did not always originate in a desire to placate the wrath or to win the boon of the worshipped Goddess. While the worship of the Goddess Kāli was intended to drive out all evil forces, Kāli was depicted as a superior force who had been capable of maintaining the harmony in religious life. The sacrifice before the altar of the Mother Goddess Kāli was a significant manifestation of the popular belief in religious performances. It had yet another meaning, too. The hope of gaining exceptional vigour was another motive force behind the sacrifice of men, animals and vegetables at the altar of the Goddess, How far such methods really helped them to approach the Kingdom of God or to live a really noble life is another matter.

"Worship of the Tāntrik's with the help of dead people or virgins was a typical example of the Sakti cult. Ordinarily they worshipped the Mother

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Goddess which was popularly known as Sasān Kāli. Sacrifice of life, either human or animal, in the worship of the Mother Goddess was nothing better than uncivilized belief. Even then this has been so popular simply because it responds to the irrational instincts of men.

"Unfortunately the magical power attained through the worship of the Mother Goddess did not help to produce the true religious outlook. Interested people with the help of ignorant rural folk gained situational advantages in the name of worship. The murderous practice of *satee* had an abrupt end, but not so the 'Sakti cult' which, in spite of its gruesome practices, is alive in some form or other. This is because it is more attuned to man's superstitious fancies and his fear of the unknown."

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OF BOOKS

CHAITANYA—HIS AND DOCTRINE—A STUDY IN VAISHNAVISM: By Dr. A K. Majumdar *Published by Bharatiy Vidya Bhavan. Bombay, 1969 ; pp. 392 ; Price Rs. 25/-.*

I have read with interest and profit Dr. Majumdar's book on Chaitanya, his life and doctrine. Dr. Majumdar is one of our front-rank scholars of Indian history and culture and this book is the result of his long study of the subject from original sources (including the extant epigraphical material). It reveals his profound scholarship, thorough and independent approach and judgement. The author combines in him the critical acumen of a historian, love and understanding of Indian culture and, above all, religious devotion which is a key to the proper appreciation or apprisal of a subject like this.

Shri Chaitanya and other medieval saints revolutionized the religious outlook of the country. They preached devotion to God, love and tolerance for people. Their teachings brought about a rapprochement among the different sections and communities of the people, the Muslims not excluded. Sri Chaitanya is considered to be an embodiment of Radha and Krishna by the Gaudiya Vaishvanas.

Shri Chaitanya was born in 1407 in Navadvip (West Bengal) which was a renowned centre of Sanskrit and orthodox learning. It was also an important administrative centre under the Muslims. Sri Chaitanya, whose earlier or pre-initation name was Visvambhar, was endowed with extraordinary intelligence. In his childhood Visvambhar had his Sanskrit education in the local *tols* and he excelled in studies. He lived for some-time the life of a house-holder. But as days passed, he grew indifferent to worldly fame and pleasures and remained immersed in the contemplation of God. At the age of twenty-four he renounced the world, became a sanyasi and took the name of Krishna-Chaitanya. He came to Puri, and from there he undertook a journey to the South. On having returned, he settled permanently in Puri except for a brief period during which he visited Banaras, Allahabad, Mathura, and Vrindavan. Wherever he went, he was honoured and revered.

Sri Chaitanya set forth no special dogmas or doctrines. As one deeply absorbed in the thought of God, he took delight in constantly reciting the name of Hari or Krishna. He maintained no caste-barriers and loved one who repeated the name of Krishna, no matter to whatever caste he belonged. He boldly declared, "Though one may be a *Chandala* (or pariah), he is superior to all Brahmins if he is pious and has love for God."

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It is not Sri Chaitanya's erudition or handsome personality but his earnest love of God, the deep pathos of his heart seeking reunion with Him was expressed through his songs and ecstasies that made a deep impression on the mind of people and moved them to tears. The frenzy of his divine love and emotional feelings drew round him not only the common people but also distinguished scholars and princes, including Advaitacharya of Bengal, Vasudeva Sarvabhauma of Puri, King Prataparudradev of Orissa and his Minister Rai Ramananda. Wherever he went people were charmed to see him and listened to him. His purity of heart, complete devotion to God and his earnest appeal to people to recite the name of Krishna thrilled the hearts of all. They took him to be the very incarnation of God though he always condemned attempts to deify him. Whatever it may be, he was the very embodiment of love and faith which rose above all formalism and superficial rituals marking the decadent Buddhist, Sakta and other forms of religion.

Though tender in feeling, Sri Chaitanya was a true ascetic with a rigorous daily routine. He shunned the company of the worldly men. Even if any of his followers showed any worldliness, he was unspairing in his treatment towards him. He used to sleep on the bare floor. When Jagadananda, one of his devout followers, seeing his body extremely emanicated, brought him a pillow, Chaitanya chastised him. On another occasion, when Jagadananda brought scented sandalwood oil with which to massage his body, he refused it with vehemence, saying, "A sanyasi has no right to the use of oil and on top of it, it is scented, so it is most objectionable."

During his last days, Sri Chaitanya's God-vision became more and more poignant and permanent. He spent more of his time in reciting the name of Krishna and adopted the emotional attitude of Radha in his love of Krishna. Day by day he grew emaciated, and ate less and less food. He saw Krishna all around. The sight of a flower or a ripple of the sea or the cloud sent him into raptures. He wept and wailed in pangs of separation from Krishna. At the age of forty-eight he disappeared from the mortal world, and is believed to have merged in God. His devoted band of followers popularised his teachings. They wrote accounts of his life which proved to be a great source of inspiration to all.

The present book by Dr. Majumdar is divided into twenty-six chapters.

Chapters, I, II and III deal with the early history of Vaishnavism or Bhagavatism. These early chapters, based on literary and epigraphical sources, describe the antiquity of the God Vishnu, special features of the Pancha-ratra, Satvata, Ekanta and Bhagavata religions and their fusion into one cult laying the strong foundation of what is popularly called Vaishnavism. Vaishnavism is thus a multi-structural religion, with bhakti or personal devotion to Vishnu or Krishna-Vasudeva as its prominent feature.

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Chapter IV describes the four traditional pre-Chaitanya Vaishnava sects, such as Sri, Hamsa, Brahma and Rudra, established respectively by Ramanuja (1017-1137), Nimbarka, Madhva (1238-1377) and Vallabha (1479-1532 or 1481-1533). Chapter V provides a history of Vaishnavism in Bengal from the earliest time to the rise of Chaitanya-deva. In this connection, the author refers to the Gupta, post-Gupta, Pala and Sena inscriptions and all the relevant literary compositions : the *Rama-Charit-mānasa*, *Kavindra Samuchchhaya*, *Sadukti Karnamrita*; the *Gita-govinda*, the poems of Chandidasa, and others.

Chapter VI gives a survey of the history oı Orissa and Bengal, setting forth the political condition of these two provinces just at the time of Chaitanya's birth. Chaitanya's life and activities are intimately connected with both these provinces.

Chapter VII deals with materials for the biography of Chaitanya. The important biographical sources include Murari Gupta's *Kadacha*, the works of Kavi-Karnapura; *Chaitanya-bhagavata* by Vrindavanadas, *Chaitanya-mangala* by Jayanada, *Sri Chaitanya-mangala* by Lochan, *Sri Chaitanya charitamrita* by Krishnadas Kaviraj and Govindadasa's *Kadacha* etc.

Chapter VIII-XX are devoted to the life and teachings of Chaitanya. These are fallowed by chapters (XXI-XXII) providing information on biography of some of the prominent disciples of Sri Chaitanya and his Sampradaya. Chapters XXIII-XXVI contain discussion on *achintya-bhedabheda* phllosophy, *Radha-Krishna tattva*, on Bhakti and the way of Bhakti.

As mentioned above, this book will be highly useful to the scholars and stunents and the general public. The author deserves the highest praise for this excellent work.

P. BANERJEE

National Museum, New Delhi.

CHIDAMBARA SANCHAYAN : Fifty select poems of Sumitranandan Pant. Translated from Hindi into English by Debabrata Mukhopadhya, (Smt.) Kuntha Jain, Shubha Dasgupta and Dr. Alokeranjan Dasgupta; Edited by Dr. Alokeranjan Dasgupta and Lakshmichandra Jain. Published by Bharatiya Jnanpith, Calcutta and Delhi; 1969; pages 128; Price Rs. 8-00.

CHIDAMBARA is the title of the Hindi book of poems, originally published in 1958, by Sri Sumitranandan Pant, which was awarded the Bharatiya Jnapith Award of Rs. 1,00,000/- last year. On the occasion of the giving away of this Award fifty poems from this volume, mainly selected by the poet himself, were translated into English, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi and Telugu. Having done the Marathi translation, I am closely acquainted with the text and realise how difficult

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the task of translation in English would be, when it presented difficulties even in the languages nearer to the original like Gujarati or Marathi.

In the foreword L.C. Jain expresses his awareness of the translators' limitations : "Should the translation be more faithful to the literal nuances of the original ? Should the translation be a transcreation? If so, should it verge on 'creation' or be content with the 'trans' part of it ? Or whom should the translation satisfy primarily—the author, the translator, the reader or the critic ?" I learn that all this work was done in the record time of three months. The limitations are, therefore, obvious: firstly, the *chhayavadi* or romantic poetic idiom in Hindi sounds so Victorian or at its best Georgian in English; secondly; poetic taste changes so fast and this collection in Hindi itself is twelve years older; thirdly, the poet seems to be overpowered by the Aurobindoean philosophical symbology which sounds so abstract in translation; fourthly, the longer poems were mercilessly cut short by the poet himself, which leaves gaps in their meaning; fifthly, how can one expect uniformity of evenness when four different persons try their hands at translation with three of them having a different mother-tongue from Pant's language ?

With all these shortcomings, the end result is not an odd or bad reading. Some of the shorter poems read extremely well in their English rendering, for example: *The Neem Tree in Storm*, *The Village Belle*, *That Old Man*, *The Washermen's Dance*, *Village Charm*, *Day Ends*, 1940, *Those Eyes*, *The Secret of the Heart*, *The Gift of the Age*, *A Question*, *The Gift of the Earth*, *The Crows*, *The Ducks and the Frogs*. Some portions of the Birthday poem and *Atmika*, the autobiographical one, are also good and remind one of Wordsworth's *Prelude*.

Pant's muse is lyrical. The music is lost in translation. His main theme is nature, and in his later poems after *Gramya* he goes on putting metaphysical cloaks and curtains on objects of nature. All that subtlety of imagery and word-filigree cannot be rendered into a different language. The thought content of his poems is delicate and frail. It is mostly dreaming of a better man in an ideal world to come. So in his passionate love for the future, the poet seems to gloss over the present, or find spiritual and mystic meanings in ordinary things and emotions. He seems to sentimentalise everything around himself. In English his poems sound at times preachy, with a moralistic tone, like the one on destruction and annihilation by atomic weapons; or too abstruse to be easily creating a correlative or emotional equivalence in the mind of the reader. Many passages read like mere prose and leave the reader untouched, as for example on page 80, in the long poem *Land of Flowers*, the Poet addresses the scientist thus :

I feel life's gratification today!
Let both of us, the representatives of the inner and the outer,
Infuse this eternal sweetness of the land of flowers
Into the soul of the new age, and realize our dream.

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This volume, though it may not be judged as immemorable poetry in English, has a modest historical value for students of Hindi literature who want to enjoy Hindi through English. This is an additional source-book along with the *Anthology of Modern Hindi Poetry* edited by S.H. Vatsyayan and Vidyaniwas Misra; and *House of Wine* by Bachan and the two slender volumes published by Dialogue, Calcutta, of Vatsyayan's poems. Beyond that historical importance, I am afraid, very little of Pant's poesy is retained or represented rightfully in this volume. At the end an appendix giving a short note on his life and listing Pant's 43 works is quite valuable as reference.

PRABHAKAR MACHWE

Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

SIKKIM and BHUTAN : by V.H. Coelho. Published by Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Azad Bhavan, New Delhi-1. Pages 137. Price Rs. 15-00.

The author describes succinctly the object of writing this book in the Prefaee :

> "My primary interest in writing this book on Sikkim and Bhutan was to assemble historical and cultural data to reveal a sympathetic description of the lands and their peoples and to give an idea of the present administrative and political structures which would serve to enlighten any reader who wishes to know something and understand more about these unusual Himalayan countries."

The work is divided in two parts : Sikkim and Bhutan. Each part deals in details with the origin of the land and people, Lamaism, Monasteries, and after a brief description of the geographical features, it traces the recent history of these lands with special reference to the Treaty with India and programmes of development. The emphasis is on the Government and Administration in these two areas. As these two states are in the south of Tibet (now under Chinese occupation), their political importance is all the more highlighted, along with India's special responsibilities. On page 49, the author rightly comments on the role of the Political Office maintained by the Government of India in Sikkim :

> "To call it the Political Office is perhaps a misnomer, in that some elements in the local political parties understand it, though incorrectly, to be a symbol of the Government of India's so-called control over the State, functioning to protect vested interests in Sikkim and some individuals see in it the watchful eye of the Government of India which they could well do without."

In the section on Bhutan, I enjoyed most chapter XIII—"More about the People" which has such interesting information on "religion, form of dress, food and beverages, births, marriages and deaths, the system of

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labour, arts and crafts, music and dance, other popular customs." For example, on page 82 it is recorded :

> "Polyandry, in different degrees, where several brothers share one wife or the wholesale alliance of the brothers of one family with the sisters of another still exists in Bhutan. Polygamy, an ancient custom, is also accepted."

The tone of the entire book is that of an objective, dispassionate, information-giving guide. There are valuable appendices on Monasteries in Sikkim, Treaties and Deeds, Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet in 1890, Regulations regarding Trades, Press Note of the Ministry of External Affairs in March 1950, Indo-Sikkim Treaty of 1950, Indo-Bhutan Treaty of 1949, place-names and Bhutanese words. A bibliography is also appended.

The author, a civil servant and diplomatist, is from Mangalore, who studied in Madras. He was also Private Secretary the first Prime Minister, the late Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. He has served in many countries and has represented India at various international conferences.

The book is very well produced, well illustrated with necessary maps and photographs. Such a timely book about our neighbouring states fills a great gap in our knowledge.

PRABHAKAR MACHWE

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THE COURTESAN OF LUCKNOW (UMRAO JAN ADA) : A novel. By Mirza Mohammad Hadi Ruswa. Translated from the original Urdu by Khuswant Singh and M.A. Hussaini. Published in paperback edition by Orient Paperbacks, Delhi, 1970. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 4·00.

This novel, acclaimed as one of the best in Indian literature, was first published around 1905 but was known only to readers in the Urdu language until it was selected by UNESCO for translation into English in its Indian series of Collection of Representative Works, jointly sponsored by that Organisation and Government of India. The author, Ruswa (1857-1931), lived a colourful life. Starting as an overseer who laid railway tracks in Baluchistan, he became a teacher and then a college lecturer at Lucknow, and worked in the Translation Bureau of Osmania University. Throughout his variegated working life he continued to study and write. Besides his novels he wrote many tracts on religion and philosophy. These gave him fame but little money; monetary returns came from the crime shockers he produced in Urdu. He was well known among his contemporaries for his bohmianeism and his amorous escapades were the talk of the day in the still fashionable metropolis of Lucknow.

Omrao Jan 'Ada', the courtesan around whom this story is woven, belonged to the city of Lucknow during the period before and after the Rising of 1857. The translators observe that this woman "was no figment

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of imagination. She practised her profession in Lucknow and Ruswa had much to do with her life and loves." Whether Umrao Jan was the real name of the courtesan is not certain, but "it is quite obvious," say the learned translators, "that Ruswa was enamoured of her personality and voice." This seems quite likely because Ruswa's literary creed forbade "unnecessary trouble (to quote his own words) by trying to base our novels upon the lives of persons about whom we cannot know anything in detail. In our own circle of friends and relatives there are bound to be many whose experiences are truly strange and fascinating. The trouble is that we cannot spare time from poring over the tomes of histories . . ."

Umrao Jan Ada's own story of her life, therefore, bears not only the stamp of truth about her own private life but also about the environment in which she lived, that is the city of Lucknow which in the period before the Sepoy Rising set the standard of Muslim civic culture. It was a period of cultural decadence resulting from the seeming permanence of the feudal order and privileges of the nobility. The translators in their Preface have ably summarised the special characteristics of the feudal culture of Lucknow. "The refined repartees of the people of Lucknow made other people's speech sound rustic; their polished manners made those of others appear oafish, It was the same with their way of living—their food, drink and smoke. The delicacies of Lucknow made the mouths of the rest of India water." Lucknow set the standard of etiquette for the gentry. "All these excellent virtues were seen at their best in the establishments of courtesans. These young aristocrates were sent to learn how to deport themselves—and incidentally also learn the facts of life.

"The culture of Lucknow centred round poetry and music; other arts were largely neglected. Everyone who aspired to being called cultured took on a teacher and learnt how to compose poetry . . . The courtesan's repertoire included both poetry and music. She composed her own verse (as did Umrao Jan Ada under the pseudonym 'Ada') or set the compositions of others to music. It was the courtesans who preserved classical Indian music from corruption for centuries." This last observation is, of course, an overstatement but is largely correct in the context of the courtly climate of Lucknow. And it is reminiscent of the much earlier times of Vatsayana when the courtesan's boudoir was the centre of cultivation of the sixtyfour arts as well as discussion of serious questions of public importance. The much narrower limitations of the cultural ambit of Lucknow are obvious.

The translators' claim that this novel gives "a flavour of all that was Lucknow—its language, its poetry and music, and the way of life of its citizens"—i.e. citizens on and inside the fringe of the nobility, is not exaggarated. All types of characters from titled nawabs to their loafing hangers-on figure in the story written in the autobiographical technique. The aftermath of 1857 saw the obsolescence of the fuedal order but it took many years to die. Umrao Jan, who had already established herself as an

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accomplished musician and, although not remarkably beautiful, had successively been the mistress of men of the highest nobility, gradually retired into an old age of study and contemplation. "I have lived my life," she says in conclusion, "now I await its end. I will breathe the air the air of this world for as long as it is ordained. I am reconciled to my fate. All my wishes have been fulfilled and I ask for nothing more although desire is a devil that will not be exorcised till the last breath is out of this body. I hope this tale of my life will do some good to some people."

To conclude, *The Courtesan of Lucknow* in its English version reads very well—beautiful, if as faithful as the courtesan herself.

S.L. GHOSH

ICCR, New Delhi.

BUDDHIST LEGENDS : In three volumes. Translated from the text of the Dhammapda Commentary by Eugene Watson Burlinghame. (Vols. 28, 29 and 30 of the Harvard Oriental Series). Republished 1969 for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Company Ltd., London. Pp. 328, 366 and 391 respectiveiy).

THE JATAKA OR STORIES OF THE BUDDHA'S FORMER BIRTHS : Translated from the Pali by various hands in three volumes under the editorship of Professor E.B. Cowell. Vol. 1 translated by Robert Chalmers, pp. 316; vol. 2 translated by H.T. Francis and R.A. Neil, pp. 320; vol. 3 translated by H.T. Francis, pp. 314+63. First published by Cambridge University. Republished for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Company Ltd. London.

These two famous translations from the Buddhist canon (*The Legends* was first published in 1921 and *The Jataka* in 1895 and republished in 1957) have now been reprinted in handsomely got up editions as part of the series of translations from the literature of Burma, Ceylon, India, Laos and Thailand, jointly sponsored by UNESCO and the National Commissions for Unesco in those countries. The sponsors deserve the sincerest thanks of students of Buddhism for making these rare translations available to them.

In a prefatory note to these reprints it has been explained on behalf of UNESCO that one of the difficulties confronting this programme of "facilitating the translation of the works most representative of the culture of certain of its member States and, in particular, those of Asia, is the lack of translators having both the qualifications and the time to undertake translations of the many outstanding books meriting publication." As a partial measure to meet this difficulty UNESCO's advisers in this field have recommended that many worthwhile translations published many years ago, and now difficult to find, should be republished in fresh editions. This is a most laudable recommendation. The prefatory note also adds that even

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when more recent and more accurate translations "endowed with a more modern apparatus of scholarship" are available, republication of a number of "pioneer works of the greatest value and interest to students of Eastern religions" was also reeommended. This point of view, it is further stated, "was warmly endorsed by the National Commissions for Unesco of Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Laos and Thailand."

One wonders, however, why in the best interests of international cultural understanding, pioneer translations should be preferred to more recent and more accurate translations as a matter of policy. It appears to be certainly more reasonable and useful, in general, to have an authoritative translation of a work on a religion than to have a relatively less authoritative, if not less painstaking, pioneer work as a better aid to the study of those religions. This is not to deny the historical value of brilliant pioneering work, but it would seem Unesco's primary objective is to disseminate the right understanding of Eastern religions and culture.

In this connection, it may be noted that some of the new translations in this series have been justifiably subjected to criticism on the ground of lack of authenticity and of inadequately competent editing. This is certainly a matter of which the concerned authorities of UNESCO should be seized.

S. L. GHOSH

ICCR, New Delhi.

THE BUDDHIST : Vesak Annual, 1970, Vol. XLI, No. 1, Published by the Colombo Young Men's Buddhist Association, Colombo, Ceylon. Edited by Palitha Weersinghe. Price not mentioned.

JAGAJJYOTI : A Buddha Jayanti Souvenir, 1970. Published by The Bengal Buddhist Association, Calcutta. Edited by Dipak Kumar Barua. Price not mentioned.

This beautifully illustrated Annual of *The Buddhist* of Colombo marks its entry into its 41st year of existence. The articles represent an effort to emphasise the values of the Buddhist way of life as a cure for the tensions and malaise of the present-day world which has bartered happiness for acquisitiveness.

The Souvenir of *Jagajjyoti* is replete with scholarly articles from well-known authorities on Buddhist philosophy, art and sculpture like the late Dr. B.M. Barua, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt. Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, Dr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, Dharampal Bhikkhu and others. Of particular interest to students of Buddhism is Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt's article on Mahayanic traces in the Pali Nikayas.

S.L. GHOSH

ICCR, New Delhi.

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I.C.C.R. News

Summer Camps for Foreign Students :

Summer Camps in the hills provide the foreign students with an excellent opportunity to see various parts of India besides providing a rare opportunity for them to meet other students from India and other countries and to understand them better through community living.

The Council has been regularly organising Summer Camps for foreign students studying in India ever since 1954 and to date thousands of students have benefited from these Camps. This year, too, the Council organised two very successful camps, one in Kashmir where 47 students from 24 countries participated and another in South India (Ooty, Bangalore and Mysore) where 45 students from 20 countries participated. As many as 40 per cent of the participants were girls. The Camps, which were highly successful, were crowded with interesting programmes including sight-seeing, trekking, lectures on different countries, debates on international affairs and many other cultural programmes.

Foreign students visit Darjeeling : About 27 foreign students studying in Bombay went to Darjeeling for a two-week holiday. They were assisted by the Council's Calcutta branch office which made necessary arrangements for their travel to Darjeeling.

Cultural Delegation to Mauritius :

On the occasion of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's visit to Mauritius the Council sent a cultural delegation to Mauritius which gave a number of successful performances there. The delegation comprised a troupe of artistes of the Bharatiya Kala Kendra which has already sent a number of cultural delegations to give performances abroad. The delegation also included the versatile dancer, Kumari Uma Sharma, who has earned a reputation in the Kathak style of dancing. Kathak is one of the popular dance forms which attained classical heights particularly during the reign of the Mughals in India who were great connoisseurs of music, dance and other arts.

Canadian Prints :

On display at Azad Bhavan Art Gallery from May 27 to June 2, 1970 was an exhibition of coloured block prints of Canadian Indian legends by Aba Bayefsky, one of the leading artists of Canada. Aba Bayefsky was born in Toronto in 1923 and studied Art in Toronto, France and Switzerland. He now lectures in the University of Toronto. Amongst the Awards

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won by Bayefsky are the French Government Scholarship and the Canadian Government Fellowship for Travel and Study in India and Japan. His works are already with collections in Canada, Australia, India and the United States. The exhibition was well received by the Indian press. The inauguration was done at a brief function by the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. James George, who also addressed the gathering. The Council's President Shri J.N. Khosla in a short speech on the occasion recalled that earlier also the Council had arranged two exhibitions of "Books on Canada" and of "Photographs on Canadian Life and Culture" respectively in collaboration with the Canadian High Commission. Mr. Khosla noted that the Council had in the past received a number of distinguished Canadians in the fields of musicology, social work, political science and education and looked forward to more such cultural exchanges between India and Canada.

Dr. A. Jalil :

The Council gave a travel grant to Dr. A. Jalil who was invited by the Japan Medical Association to attend a Medical Conference being held in Japan. Dr. Jalil, who is the Director of the Indian Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research, will stay on in Japan to study Acupuncture which involves treatment of patients by inserting needles on particular points of the body and is extensively practised in Japan and in some European countries. Dr. Jalil is a Fellow of the Japanese Acupuncture Society and a member of the International Acupuncture Society, Paris.

Books on Hungary :

An exhibition of books on the life and culture of Hungary was organised by the Council in the month of May 1970. This was one of a series of exhibitions on the books of different countries of the world planned by the Council in order to acquaint the Indian people with the life and culture of other lands.

New Publications :

The Council brought out two of its new publications :

The first is entitled *Central Asia* and deals with the movement of peoples and ideas in Central Asia from pre-historic to modern times and includes important research papers read at an International Conference on Central Asia which was organised in February 1969 by the Council with the cooperation of Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco. At the Conference which was attended by many Indian and foreign delegates significant papers were discussed and important recommendations adopted. The papers and the discussions make interesting reading and throw new light on the Central Asian Civilizations.

The second publication recently brought out by the Council is *A Handbook of Select Bibliographies* on History and Culture of India which

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is part of a six-volume project on the various aspects of India's life and culture. The subjects covered in this handbook are Indian History—ancient, medieval and modern, Indian Archaeology, Indian Culture and her Cultural Renaissance. The first volume on Indian Arts was issued in 1967. The future volumes would cover Indian literatures, India's social and economic life, India's thinkers and books on India in foreign languages.

Indian Paintings to Malaysia :

Sixty-six Reproductions of Indian paintings including specimens from different periods of India's history when Art flourished in India—from the Ajanta period upto the modern—were sent for exhibition to Malaysia. The exhibition included specimens of paintings from the Ajanta period, paintings depicting Jataka tales about the previous lives of the Buddha, specimens of Mughal and Pahari schools as also of the modern period including the works of Jamini Roy and M.F. Husain among others. According to the reports received from Malaysia, the exhibition was a grand success. After Malaysia the exhibition is scheduled to be taken to some other countries of South-East Asia as well.

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